

LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSMONTHLY

CLASS WAR BOOK REVIEWED
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Mumia Abu-Jamal Faces Death

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THE ASPECT
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NY, NY 10012

THE PIG WASN'T EVEN IN IT

Dear Love and Rage,

I'm just sitting here in my two-man prison cell, designed for one, and wondering what good it's doing. I mean, being locked-up inside of this cement closet isn't proving nothing, least to society. Who are they protecting? The public? That's it. I'm locked up in this fucking tomb so I won't cause harm to the American people, public, and pigs. Society is protected from me, and punks like me. Criminal scum, public waste. Evil bad-doers.

Enough is enough. I've only been locked up in this fucking prison for 6 years. Shit, all I did was blow up a cop car, it wasn't like the pig was in it or anything.

I was sentenced to 7 years for destruction of state property! They labelled me a terroristic anarchist threat to society. 6 fucking years, one more left. Now you tell me who got burned? I'm not the criminal. These pigs are. They're racist money hungry politicians, and that's putting it lightly.

"10 days punitive isolation for refusing to piss in their cup" (urinalysis)

"30 days in the 'hole' for spitting on a prison guard"

"15 days lockdown for telling the guards to fuck off"

Where does it end? Why do all these big-wig prison officials seem to think that they can break me? Why must they try and make me conform to their fascist ways by violating my civil rights, my rights as a living, bleeding human being?

I am an anarchist, and the system hates me for my beliefs. So they fuck with me only because they have the power. But I laugh in their faces be-

real fun. The pigs try to break me, but it will never happen. I refuse, I resist!

The corrupt prison guards shock the fuck outta me with these fucking things called tazers, they beat me in the ribs and legs with their clubs, they feed me total rancid bullshit that would send Amnesty International screaming. These fucking pigs wouldn't even feed their pets this bullshit, it's horrid.

And then they let me out of the "hole," to go back to my regular fucked-up cell in the general population of this prison. And the guards fuck with me, and call me a faggot and all sorts of mindless names. So I spit in their faces and 20 minutes later the special operation "goon squad" equipped with helmets, shields, tazers, flak-jackets, clubs, army fatigues, and combat boots come rushing into my cell and they beat the fuck out of me and drag me by the hair back to the "hole." They shoot me up with Thorazine and I go out. I wake up about 24 to 36 hours later, totally dehydrated, sick, and bruised. I lay naked and chained/shackled to the god damn cold cement slab.

Then the pigs bring me in front of the disciplinary committee and charge me with infractions against the rules and regulations of the Utah State Prison. Will this shit ever end? No, I won't conform. Never! These racist big-wig pigs condemn me for being a punk, yet they condone Mormon child molesters. These cops beat me down for being an anarchist. But I will never break. I expiate my full prison/court appointed sentence on 4/24/93. On that date I will have paid my debt to society, in full, with time, torture, and blood.

participate in sex films has not yet been put to rest. I mean really, like "snore." However, during the making of the countless XXX films I've been in, I have never, ever, seen, heard, or smelt of even the slightest indication that anyone, be they female or male, being physically abused or threatened therewith, before, during, or after a "shoot." In fact, should such a thing come to pass, every performer on the set would have walked off the job and that producer responsible would be hard pressed to get anyone to ever work for him again. Exploited? — of course. It's the marketplace. But abused? Out of the question. On the contrary, we were treated for the most part with great consideration. Remember this was XXX movies' heyday and most producers did what they could to emulate Hollywood, and so if anything, their "stars" were catered to.

There were the unfortunate few who in their private lives did violence to themselves. But by and large most of my constituents were reasonably well adjusted individuals who just happened to enjoy their bodies and made no bones about it (you'll pardon the expression). Although it was sometimes stressful — after all, it was sex on cue — it was for the most part a professional atmosphere with a great deal of camaraderie. And I speak not only for myself (a male) but for the likes of Vanessa del Rio, Annie Sprinkle, Veronica Hart, Candida Royale, Seka, Georgina Spelvin, Sharon Mitchell, Gloria Leonard, Mary Stewart, Robin Byrd, Aunt Peg and many more when I say there was *never* any violence.

Bobby Astyr

"I'll testify to that statement."
Samantha Fox (the original)

AGAINST A SHORT-SIGHTED, HEAD-ON CONFRONTATIONALIST APPROACH

Dear Love and Rage,

First of all congratulations on the best issue in quite some time (Vol 3 No 3, March 1992). From the reasoned attack on puritanical dogmatism which accompanies regurgitations of the conservative anti-sex views of Andrea Dworkin, to the reportage and analysis of the Iron-bound struggles and larger green movements, to the reprint of Lorenzo Komboa Erwin's call for the formation of Black communes and the various international pieces, the last issue renewed my hope for the Love and Rage project. Here I'd like to pick up on Kate Star's worthwhile article ("In the Belly of the Beast") which argues for understanding core/periphery countries' relations and the responsibilities of radicals living in the so called belly of the beast.

I agree wholeheartedly with Star that radicals living in the core countries need to understand and, I would argue, *critically* align ourselves with international anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles. Undoubtedly an anti-imperialist analysis is lacking in much anarchist work and this perspective needs strengthening. On the other hand, many anarchists who address this question do so in an uncritical way, aligning anarchists with authoritarians in the name of "self-determination," even as these nationalist

struggles repress social divisions not reducible to core/periphery relations within their own countries and "nationalities" (thinking of oppressed peoples as "nations" is highly problematic as, for example, feminist theorists have pointed out).

We have on the one hand, a basic ignorance of how core countries' "affluence" is created at the expense of the health and well-being of peripheral countries' human and ecological communities and, on the other, a guilt based, Marxist-Leninist influenced uncritical alignment with authoritarian movements for national "liberation." This is a dichotomy which can only be overcome through critical analysis, dialogue and practice; neither writing off national liberation struggles, nor romanticizing them as inherently "progressive."

I also agree with Star that part of what anarchists need to do is build a fighting movement capable of inflicting material damage on capital and making core countries ungovernable, something akin to the Central European autonomist movement. Unfortunately this is where Star's strategy ends. The question remains, in non-revolutionary times such as ours, what is the role of anarchists in developing a revolutionary movement capable of reorganizing society along cooperative, free and ecological lines?

In order to adequately answer this question, I think we first have to admit that we are not in a revolutionary situation and that our task is then to create the conditions and prepare workable alternatives for such a situation, while building alliances. As personally satisfying and somewhat politically important as militant street action is, we need to recognize that this is not the most essential component of a strategy relevant to current conditions. It is important, however, as exemplary action and creating, from the beginning, a *qualitatively* militant movement capable of succeeding in bringing about a social revolution which will, in my view, require the overthrow and destruction of existing hierarchical institutions. The development of a fighting movement now can help prepare us for this task and include new people put off by the many varieties of reform orientated politics, while forcing the state to direct its military intervention either underground, as in the case of the covert war against Nicaragua, or towards the quick and deadly, as in the Iraqi massacre (these new types of imperialist warfare raise a whole new set of problems which militants have yet to adequately answer and which disturbances of the "social peace" have yet to succeed in stopping). This being said I think we need to think about how we get from here (a period of reaction) to there (social revolution) and what role activist anarchists and Love and Rage can play.

Love and Rage seems to subscribe to a short-sighted, head-on, confrontationalist position — a politics of immediate gratification? While this tone may eventually be necessary, we must, as Antonio Gramsci advised, first win over civil society before directly attacking the state full force. To do otherwise would be suicidal, or just plain stupid. This means what we

LETTERS

cause their power means nothing to me. I am not impressed.

They tell me to urinate in a plastic cup so they can analyze my piss to try and detect any drugs that I might have consumed behind their backs. So I tell them to stick the cup up their ass, and they throw me into the "hole."

They let me out, and tell me to do some other meaningless task, so I tell them to go fuck themselves and they throw me in the "hole" again.

Then they ask me why I make it so hard on myself, and they ask me "why I won't conform." So I tell them why and they throw me back in to the "hole"! And I find myself handcuffed and shackled, spread eagle and totally naked laying on a cement and steel slab. Bright fluorescent lights fuck my eyes up. They shine for many hours, then the pigs shut the lights off and it is pitch black, it's really fucking annoying. The "hole" is a fucked-up little cell, with nothing in it but a slab and that's it. Its about the size of a small bathroom, smells like shit and piss. Lice crawl over your exposed body,

On April 24th, 1993, I will walk out of this prison totally free, and ready to fuck shit up!

Never Forget!
"Jimi Germ" James Owens #18218
Utah State Prison OQ3
P.O. Box 250 Draper, Utah 84020

"ESPIRIT DE CORPUS"

Re: Violence in the adult movie industry a.k.a. The Fuck Film Biz; "There ain't none!" Wait a minute; how do I know? Who the hell am I? From 1973 to 1980 I was a performer in XXX films. My name is Bobby Astyr and if those lambasting the industry actually did any homework on the subject, they'll know my name (and probably what shoe size I wear).

I'm astonished that the concept of females being dragged at gunpoint to

Love and Rage is created by the Love and Rage Network, a group of supporters who are in general agreement with the Love and Rage Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to Love and Rage. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference — roughly once a year. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by a Network Council of people from many regions that meets at least once between conferences. Any group with a genuine interest in the project may send 2 voting delegates to Network Council meetings. Decisions requiring faster action (consistent with decisions of the conference and Network Council) are made by an elected Coordinating Group which consults with the Production Group (PG) by phone and mail. Day to day decisions are made by the PG, resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, Love and Rage supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they

sometimes plug into the rest of the Network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

Most Love and Rage supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing Love and Rage. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in Love and Rage.

The Love and Rage Network is not a closed circle of friends. If you are in general agreement with the Political Statement and are comfortable pledging your time, energy or money to our joint effort, you can become part of the Network and participate fully in the decision making process. Ask the person who sold or gave you the paper, or write to:

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We try to go to press by the second weekend of each month, so we ask that submissions be in the office by

the first of the month. We try to mail the issues by the third weekend of each month, though that is often not possible because we don't have the money. Some months we produce an 8 page "Broadsheet" edition instead of our regular 16 page full size edition. We do this because we think getting a paper to you every month is more important than waiting until we have enough money to do a full edition. If you are having trouble getting the paper please call the office.

Boring Disclaimer:

Look. Articles, letters, Notes of Revolt, and other things printed in Love and Rage do not necessarily represent the opinions or views of the Production Group, Coordinating Group, Network Council, Conference or anyone involved in the Love and Rage Network. We print a variety of articles for a variety of reasons, including articles we don't agree with because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. So there.

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

The monthly internal organ of the Love and Rage Network. Read and write about intrigues, imbrolios, vacations, vacancies, debates, debacles, politics, policies, looks, lacks, and revolution.

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most need to do now is wage a war of ideas, change consciousness, and help create a new alignment of those social forces fighting both oppression and domination; to, in Gramsci's phrase, create a new "historical bloc" capable of redirecting society towards freedom. (I wonder to what degree *Love and Rage* is succeeding in spreading anarchist ideas beyond those already convinced.)

In this war of ideas, education takes on an essential role. We need to create an anti-authoritarian, multi-ethnic intellectual culture along the lines advocated by bell hooks and Cornel West, among others. This involves both educating ourselves, developing our ideas in a democratic and participatory fashion, and learning how to speak and write clearly about them. *Love and Rage* can play an important part in this process. This also means, as anarchists, playing an active role in social movements, arguing for positions such as non-hierarchy, feminism, anti-racism, etc. It means steering both social movements and society in an anarchist direction, recognizing that a primary emphasis on confrontationalist politics at this time, which pits us vs. the state, can be elitist and anti-democratic. We should instead be creating conditions by which the "masses" can realize themselves as free individuals living a social life within communities capable of waging their own battles. Thus, as important as arguing for militancy is, what is more important at this time is arguing for broader anarchist ideas, beyond the principle "fuck shit up."

Within a new "historical bloc," or alignment of social forces, anarchists orientated towards organization and the development of a fighting movement can play an important, though not dominant role. We should argue for our principles, while recognizing not everyone is comfortable with our tactics. We need to build coalitions based upon mutual respect, understanding that in the process both our allies and our own identities will change, and that nothing is predetermined.

For the development of a revolutionary theory and practice,
Paul O'Bannion

was thrown by the Fraternal Order of Police, the State's Attorney, and the B.O.Y. committee (B.O.Y., from their initials — not so ironic, huh?). The situation gets more outrageous every day. Kudos to brother Chris and the *Love and Rage* "staff." I will get busy on *The Wages of Whiteness* and *Black Reconstruction* very quickly. Dubois on the subject of land sounds particularly enticing.

Sedov Trevor Lucien
Chicago, IL

A RESPONSE TO JOEY HOMICIDE'S "RANT AGAINST ANTI-PORN YAHOO'S"

Dear *Love and Rage*,

There are valuable insights and vital questions raised by Joey Homicide's article — but you have to wade through a lot of regressive whining to get to them. Challenging the relentlessly grim seriousness with which most "leftists" (not just feminists) engage in struggle is worthwhile. How often have all of us — men and women alike — been accused of a "lack of commitment," "being frivolous," etc. because we aspire to pleasure as well as struggle, fun as well as political work, etc.? Activist "burn-out" can be prevented — and *must* be — if we're to make it for the long haul. But the way that Joey attacks this issue too often had its own reactionary elements.

It's possible to be anti-censorship of porn *without* being pro-porn. I've always been horrified by anti-porn feminists making a coalition with right-religious fanatics. At best, it was a very muddled version of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The Christian fundamentalists are the backbone of the backlash against women, so it makes no sense to coalition (say what???) with them on anything. Censorship is a very dangerous stance to take — and all too easily boomerangs on us. I worked at a newsstand that sold lots of porn for almost two years — and its still going strong. But political rap (like Public Enemy), radical feminist performance artist Karen Finley and the Black gay men's film *Tongues Untied* are all under attack and fighting suppression. This is a di-

tion for women in this culture means oppression; for men it means repression, a limitation to male genital sex that narrows their experience. The two are not equal experiences.

Again, I disagree with the tactic of fighting to censor porn in order to stop violence against women, but I think Joey has obviously given little thought to the very serious issues that moved anti-porn feminists to their position. Too much of Joey's argument echoes the tired-leftist-male-from-the-'60s cheering on the (so-called) "sexual revolution." (Revolution for whom? Men, mostly. In the '50s, women couldn't say yes to sex. Post-'60s and early '70s, women are never supposed to say no to sex. Neither liberates women's sexuality.)

Throughout Joey's article, I kept feeling the same old B.S. that men get to define women's sexuality on men's terms. Elements of the "male bashing" trend kept surfacing — with sex being used as the "PC victim" rather than men. Poor Joey! He's afraid he's not getting laid enough! Did any of his "prominent feminist" friends call him on the pervasive sexism of his use of insults like "nuns," "sleazebags," "prudes," "have a hatred of life," "anti-sex," etc.? Joey should at least consider the real violence against women in some depth.

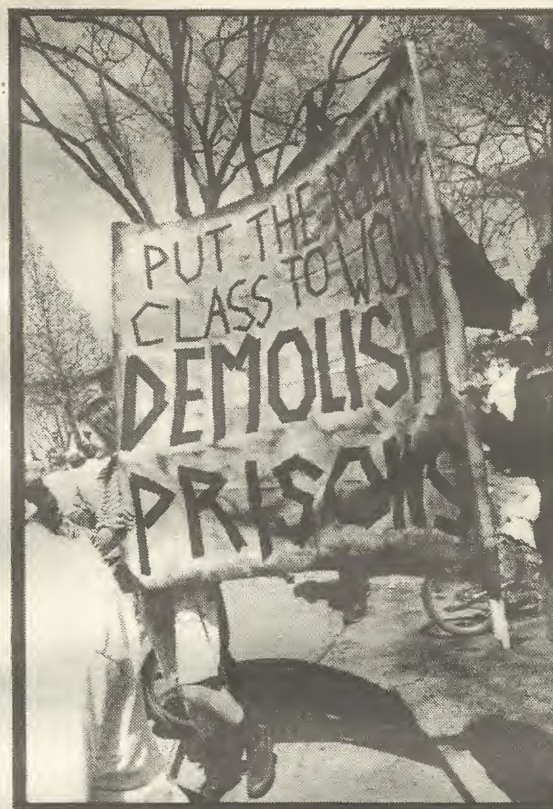
One out of three women is raped in her lifetime — one in four girls is sexually abused before age 18; 50% of women are battered by the men they live with — from the occasional slap to serious injury to death; we don't know how many women are sexually harassed at their jobs — women know they'll be fired if they complain; we don't know how many kids are sexually abused (or battered or emotionally abused) because they have less power than anyone; the Hooker With a Heart of Gold has been replaced by the Happy Hooker as the romantic myth to cover up that the vast majority of sex industry workers are not liberated by being prostitutes.

I'm disgusted by a man more willing to get out in the streets to fight censorship of porn (even in jest, forming a posse no less!) when men of conscience should be joining the fight against violence-against women.

Too much of Joey's argument falls into whining that women aren't "available" enough for his sexual pleasure! Has he (or most men) considered the impact sexual abuse issues have on women? Has he considered how self-alienating objectification is for women and their sexuality. There's a lot of blaming women for being "sexually repressed" in his article. Has he considered that might be an understandable reaction to abuse and objectification? Who does it serve for women to be repressed sexually? Not women, that's for sure! It serves to keep (some) women's sexuality defined and controlled by men — individually and collectively (in patriarchy).

I agree and join with Joey's challenge that more "alternative" porn (especially created by women) be made. As Joey acknowledges, porn is primarily made by straight, white men. What this means is that women's experiences, feelings, and desires are almost always left out of porn. When I looked at "real porn" it didn't even seem aware of the most basic ways women sexually function. (Foreplay? Woman's clitoris? Even kissing? What's that???) Frankly, sleeping with a man who's on a steady diet of porn seems a very depressing experience to me.

But one way to positively challenge porn is to make creative, affirming, beautiful alternatives of erotica. For several years I've been making erotic paintings, drawings, prose-poems. Yes, there's some controversy getting the visual work exhibited. It's been very healing and I highly recommend it. Yes, I'd like to see an "integration" of affirming pleasurable sexuality while fighting violence against women, too. But do the Joey's of the world have any idea how



hard that is to do even on an individual personal level, much less politically? As an abuse survivor, artist, radical feminist struggling to claim all of myself — including my sexual self, I think I have some credibility.

I'd feel more hopeful if someone of Joey's obvious energy and intelligence could as passionately "fight the real violence" as he supports porn. His idea of a "sexual wonderland" will be part of the problem until sexual violence (and blaming women for its fact and impact) ends. In the meantime, Thelma and Louise live! And I hope more brothers join their sisters in struggle.

Lydia Howell
Minneapolis, Minnesota

COMRADELY CORRECTIONS

Dear comrades,

May Day greetings to all. We just saw a copy of your April/May edition and would like to share a few comments.

The article entitled "Classy Groups" was informative and we're glad to see mention of class struggle organizations. It was particularly nice to see mention of both the International Workers Association and the Workers Solidarity Alliance.

In regards to the WSA, it's important to mention that the WSA not only produces the magazine *ideas & action* but is also activist in orientation. Members of the WSA are active in their workplaces and in larger social causes as well. At the forthcoming WSA convention we will be forming workplace networks whose focus will be to move our informal workplace activities into a more formal and coherent structure by grouping militants in the same work sectors together. Local WSA members are active in many causes and we are generally active in the anti-militarist, feminist, ecological, and solidarity movements also. WSA has been particularly active in New York City in aiding the East European independent workers' and anarcho-syndicalist movements. In fact, it was WSA's East European Aid Project which kicked off the IWA solidarity aid project. We have further waged other solidarity campaigns with striking workers here in the USA and in solidarity with workers around the globe. Our aim is to be as practical and activist as possible, propaganda only plays a role in terms of a national project but is not a substitute for local activities.

Just one further point of clarification, Bill's article mentions that "most members...are also members of the IWW." This is inaccurate. It can be said that probably a quarter of the WSA membership are also members of the IWW. We do, however, try to cooperate with the IWW, and others, where possible. The WSA believes that such cooperation between ourselves and others who share a class struggle anarchist or libertarian perspective is important since no one organization alone will be able to do it alone.

Best wishes.
In solidarity,
Mitch
New York, WSA



FREE THE HISTORIES

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Christopher Day's article "Slaves and Settlers in Black and White" (Vol.3 No.1, January 1992) is a refreshing and encouraging sign for these times of debate over the National Liberation movements and the role of whites in the process of re-education. Indeed Chris is doing his homework. I don't mean to sound condescending, as I have only read *Settlers* by J. Sakai.

I should mention that I read *Settlers* and especially upon conclusion I was continually and perpetually motivated to learn more, particularly about the role of the police in tactics of neo-colonialism in today's society. We have some serious cleaning up to do.

As the Jon Burge case in Chicago shows us, we live in an age where Police torture and brutality are celebrated. Recently in Chicago over 3,000 people showed up and paid a minimum of \$20 each to support 3 cops, Jon Burge, Patrick O'hara, and John Yucaitis, whose charges of systematic torture and brutality have been sustained by the Office of Professional Standards. This party

rect result of the same folks anti-porn feminists aligned themselves with.

However, one can oppose censorship of porn and still have a sharp critique of it. I don't know that porn "causes" rape — but I don't think it prevents it. I have to give Joey credit for at least acknowledging that porn is mostly created by and for white, straight men. Maybe it's no more dangerous than Madison Avenue "sex sells" objectification of women — but porn has some messages that women have a right to challenge.

Having looked at porn myself (like being told communism was "the enemy" in high school and then reading *The Communist Manifesto* for myself, I did look at porn while on this job), I think it perfectly valid to look at what porn expresses — and what it does not express. Joey makes this out to be just a matter of "taste" — and leaves out the political context, meaning and reality in the expression. He seems, frankly, oblivious to the gut level ABCs of what "objectification" means to women's lives. I think that men are somewhat objectified in straight and gay porn too — but sexual objectifica-

Supporting Groups

The Love and Rage Network is made up of autonomous groups and individuals from around North America. Supporting groups make a commitment as a group to support the Network financially, and by writing for and distributing Love and Rage in their area. Supporting Groups are represented by delegates in the Network Council. Groups outside of North America who want to support the network are International Affiliates, and do not have representation on the Network Council. If you are in general agreement with our politics and would like to join, please write us at P.O. Box 3, NYC 10012.

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Mumia Abu-Jamal

BY RICHARD VAN SAVAGE

JOURNALIST MUMIA ABU-JAMAL is currently on death row. The former president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists was driving on December 9, 1981, when he witnessed police beating up his brother, who had been pulled over for a minor traffic infraction. (sound familiar?) Approaching the scene he was shot in the stomach by the police. In the ensuing chaos an officer was also shot and subsequently died. Witnesses claim the gunman fled on foot, while Mumia Abu-Jamal and his brother waited for an ambulance. Three days later he was charged with the murder of the cop. Neither ballistics nor fingerprints could link either a bullet or a gun to him.

At his trial he was denied the defense attorney of his choice. The prosecutor rejected all black jurors but one. They withheld evidence and testimony and actually used excerpts from his newspaper articles as the justification for the death penalty, in direct violation of both the first amendment and the UN Declaration of Human Rights of 1949, which prohibits persecution on the basis of political views. What makes the state want to kill this man so badly? A further look into who Mumia Abu-Jamal covered in his career illuminates their motives.

In 1967, at age 13, Mumia Abu-Jamal and three other black teens had the courage to go into predominantly white South 'Philly to protest a rally for segregationist presidential candidate George Wallace. They were thrown out of the rally and soon afterwards beaten up by a gang of white adults, who later turned out to be off duty policemen. This was his first run in with the notorious Frank Rizzo, who was police commissioner at that time.

The following year he began writing for the *Black Panther Newspaper* and helped form the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, which brought him continual harassment from the police. The Black Panther Party was formed in the late 1960's to facilitate the move toward self sufficient, self determined communities. They fed children, clothed families, opened free health clinics, educated children about their history and the true nature of this society, fought drug dealers and helped to organize in their communities. It would be clippings from this young journalist that the District Attorney would use to justify the death penalty. The DA in the case is now the mayor of 'Philly, further showing how politicians will use the death penalty and a racist prison system to further their political careers.

Mumia Abu-Jamal went on to a distinguished career in both print and radio journalism that earned him the title "the voice of the voiceless" for his fearless portrayal of both sides of any story, something few corporate media types have the courage to do. When Frank Rizzo, at this point Mayor Rizzo, in 1978 ordered a blockade of the house of MOVE, a black, radical, back to nature group, Mumia attempted again to give both sides of the story. The blockade failed to starve them out and the police eventually stormed the house with 600 heavily armed SWAT team members. A policeman was killed with evidence pointing toward police crossfire. The city went so far as to demolish the house the following day to prevent evidence in the upcoming trial which sentenced 11 people for ONE murder which the police themselves were probably responsible for.

The notoriously racist 'Philly police frequently harassed MOVE members, often beating them. One such occasion resulted in a miscarriage and another in the death of a child as the mother holding the child was knocked to the ground and beaten. Mumia Abu-Jamal reported all of this for WUHY, as well as many national programs such as National Public

Radio, which only infuriated the police that much more.

Later on MOVE would make international headlines when Mayor Wilson Goode ordered a bomb dropped on a MOVE house, killing eleven people, five of whom were children.

The US wants to execute a political prisoner now, for the first time since the Rosenbergs. The FBI Counter Intelligence PROgram (COINTELPRO) in the 60's and 70's used death squads to assassinate prominent dissidents. They killed some 38 members of the Black Panther Party alone. The 80's in the US saw a shift, along with Europe, as a rash of questionable suicides swept through the left, and then a more overt process of "criminalization of political dissidents" began to occur. This would often include harassment by the IRS and other government agencies, sting operations, and provocations to justify violent responses.

The following dialogue is what was used to justify the death penalty for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Q. To Mumia: "Do you recall saying, 'All power to the people?'"
A. "Yes."

Q. "Do you believe your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'"

A. "I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

WHAT IS THE MOVE ORGANIZATION?

THE MOVE ORGANIZATION surfaced in Philadelphia during the early 1970s. Characterized by dreadlock hair, the adopted surname "Africa," a principled unity, and an uncompromising commitment to their belief, members practiced the teachings of MOVE founder John Africa.

"MOVE's work is to stop industry from poisoning the air, the water, the soil, and to put an end to the enslavement of life-people, animals, any form of life. The purpose of John Africa's revolution is to show people how corrupt, rotten, criminally enslaving this system is...Our work is to confront this system up-front to show people not only that they can fight this system and win, but to show them the urgent need to fight." (MOVE)

MOVE's early work included helping homeless people find lodgings, assisting elderly people with home repairs, intervening in gang violence, and running a rehabilitation program. Their more public face included demonstrations at zoos, pet shops, political rallies, public forums and media offices, using a strategy of "non-violent protest and strategized profanity to expose the profane circumstances of the system's injustices." It was when MOVE launched demonstrations against police brutality that the better-known period of their history began. From then on MOVE was a target for extreme police violence which culminated in the May 13, 1985 bombing of MOVE's headquarters and the murder of six adults and five children.

MOVE members were repeatedly harassed, arrested, and beaten. Four pregnant MOVE members suffered miscarriages after beatings by police, including Alberta Africa, who was held spread-eagled while an officer kicked her in the stomach and vagina. One MOVE baby had its skull crushed during a 1976 attack on the MOVE household. In 1977 MOVE began a demonstration outside their headquar-

We as anarchists have an obligation to point out the hypocrisy of the government, as well as taking more direct action in assisting anyone under attack. When author Margot Harry asked Mumia Abu-Jamal how to prevent future bombings of MOVE and other dissident groups he responded with a quote from IWW organizer Joe Hill: "Don't mourn, organize! Pull together, unite, come together to resist this system's usurpation of your inherent and god given rights to freedom, clean air, uncontaminated earth, fresh water, and an untainted, unpoisoned gene pool. People, all peoples on this planet, must be free and unthreatened by a nuclear pistol placed at the temple of the earth's inhabitants. Demand that this system of injustice free MOVE prisoners and all political prisoners from the dungeons of America."

MOVE is a group formed in the 1970's around the teachings of John Africa that advocates, among other things, the wearing of dreadlocks, vegetarianism (raw food only), composting, living naturally without technology, chemicals etc., home education (due to the continued US policy of cultural apartheid) and a revolutionary movement to separate oneself from the corruption of the US system with a belief in the sacredness of all living things, including plants, flies, rats, dogs, etc. (See sidebar)

Write to protest : Gov. Robert Casey
Main Capitol Bldg, Rm. 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Send funds for Mumia's defense to: New Afrikan Network in Defense of PPs and POWs, P.O. Box 90604, Wash, D.C. 20090

Partisan Defense Committee c/o Rachel Wolkenstein, Esq. P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013

Special thanks to: Partisan Defense Committee, Margot Harry and her book *Attention, MOVE! This is America* from Banner Press P.O. Box 6469 Chicago, IL 60680, *Prison News Service*, PSC Pub, POB 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ont. Canada M5W 1W4

ters to demand the release of MOVE prisoners and to expose the treatment they had been receiving. Armed, to prevent police attack, the MOVE members held off the authorities for 14 months. Having no legal grounds to make arrests, police used some old housing code violations as an excuse to launch a major assault on the MOVE house on August 8, 1978. During the assault one police officer was killed — shot in the back of the head, with the bullet travelling downwards — and 11 MOVE members (who were holed up in the basement at the time) were convicted of his murder. They were sentenced to 30 — 100 years each.

During the next seven years, securing the release of MOVE prisoners became MOVE's priority. From their new headquarters on Osage Avenue, the group began another demonstration in 1984. On May 13, 1985, the police staged a full-scale military assault, firing over 10,000 rounds of ammunition into the house. When this didn't succeed in getting MOVE members out, a police helicopter dropped a bomb on the roof. Deliberately leaving the fire to rage, the police let 60 neighborhood row houses burn to the ground. With the house on fire, MOVE members repeatedly tried to exit into the alleyway, but were shot at by police, killing some of the adults and children. Only one adult, Ramona Africa, and one child, Birdy Africa, survived, and were both taken into custody.

Ramona served 7 years for conspiracy, riot, and multiple counts of assault. She was released this spring. She and other MOVE members have now focused their efforts on freeing the remaining 12 MOVE prisoners.

For more information on MOVE, and to help work for the release of MOVE prisoners, write to: Concerned Citizens in Support of MOVE, PO Box 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Parts of this article were reprinted from the excellent book *Twenty Years On the MOVE* available for \$5 (US) from the same address.

Who's Afraid of Personal Responsibility?

BY TOMMY LAWLESS

RECENTLY AT AN INTERNATIONAL Wommin's Day Gathering, I (and some other anarcho-feminists) handed out pamphlets heralding "I HATE THE GOVERNMENT." At least half of the recipients responded with, "I hate the government too." Yet many, as they read on through an Emma Goldman quote, said "I'm not sure I agree with that!" The quote stated that as wimmin we need to liberate ourselves from the inside, by refusing to participate in state/societal/familial coercion, by shaking off the fear of public opinion and condemnation—that this is the way, not through the ballot, that wimmin will gain freedom. I agree with Goldman: personal responsibility is the key to self-determination. Yet it may be the single most frightening factor about liberation and anarchy.

What is anarchy anyway? On a personal level, it is the freedom from authority and rule, and the unwillingness to have authority or to rule over others—a mind-boggling concept for the law-abiding citizens we've been raised to be. In an anarchy, each person (including young persons) is respected as an autonomous being, capable of making decisions for herself, free to join or decline collective organization, free to act in what each feels to be her own best interest, free to be responsible for her own life. (This "self-interest" and "self-responsibility" is preached by many capitalists today—but under the coercion of guns, this rhetoric is farcical.)

When people tell me anarchy is "impossible," I point out that governments of all kinds (including corporations) exist by one mechanism only—by the tacit consent and cooperation of 90 percent of the people they rule over. The police force is made up of individuals, as are armies and prison squads. The existence of those forces is dependent upon the continued cooperation of those individuals. Corporations dumping toxic wastes into rivers and lakes and oceans, deep injecting radio-active matter into the bowels of Earth, are dependent upon the willingness of employees for operations to continue. The CEO isn't doing all the work by himself! Tax agencies collect money given to them by employers and employees. If even half of the population refused to pay, those agencies (through lack of funds), and conse-

quently the government they finance, would cease to exist. Workers (including government workers) stop going to work when we are not being paid.

What then is the primary requirement for anarchy? The intense desire of people in a community for absolute self-determination, for freedom from coercion. Until this condition exists, one police force will simply replace another. Over and over again people choose the security of a provider/protector/stabilizer (at the price of subservience), instead of embracing the risks and dynamic changes inherent with freedom. Citizens, as children, are programmed to believe (as George Orwell predicted) that "Freedom is Slavery," since we are continually told that we are free under our governments; that "War is Peace," as every war has claimed; and especially that "Ignorance is Strength," since the mass-media will of course provide us with all we need to know.

The main enemy of anarchy is, therefore, not the State, is not the faceless corporations. The main enemy of anarchy is, as Martin Luther King Jr. so eloquently put it, "the slave within ourselves."

Who benefits from anarchy? Everyone who wants to live free of coercion and is unwilling to coerce others. Potentially, almost everyone could benefit from anarchy.

Why then does anarchy not enjoy a more popular following? The answers to this question can be complex and numerous, many hearkening back to the dependence-conditioning we have been force-fed since birth. But we know from herstory (and from personal experience) that conditioning can be overcome. Perhaps the biggest obstacles to a populist anarchist movement are perceived lack of choices, and fear. The struggling mother with children to feed may say, "Your ideas sound wonderful, but I can't quit my job at the nuclear plant because no other jobs are available. I don't want my children and I to face degradation or starve. At least now I'm earning a living." And most workers—both blue and white collar—mistakenly fear that through anarchy we have more to gain. But perhaps most of all, we fear that we lack the confidence and courage to take our lives into our own hands: to confront our oppressors—bosses, colleagues,

coworkers, peers, partners, police—on a daily basis, face to face.

What then might be the strategies of an anarchist working to activate a populist movement? I can only speak for myself. All of the strategies generally used by activists—writing, speaking, educating, agitating, demonstrating, and acting—are (I feel) necessary and good and should be continued. But personally, I find that the strategy most important (and most difficult) is to talk with and listen to people daily, whenever the opportunity arises; to avoid an Us-Against-Them/Anything-For-The-Cause mentality; and to assist those attracted to anarchist ideals—to assist whenever possible with everyday needs (alternative employment, shelter, food)—and to help them feel welcome and supported among activists. I've heard my sisters and brothers alienate whole groups of people, even going so far as to label everyone from a middle classes as "evil,

racist, property-owners"! But I myself—a young white womyn from a middle class background, raised in a Fundamentalist Christian cult from birth to age 17, and newly connected with anarchist activists—I am a walking testimony that no one is exempt from the desire for self-determination.

I am writing this article from an instinctive position, from my own 26 years of experience, and not from a knowledge of the vast body of anarchist theory, thought, and specific history. (Not that I disdain that knowledge—it merely has not been available to me long enough for me to educate myself with it). This "lack" can leave me at a disadvantage when confronted by, say, a Trotskyist or a Republican, but all I can tell them is what I can tell you (and this is essentially all I need to know): I am an anarchist simply because I refuse to recognize the right of anyone to have authority over me, or to control my thoughts, actions, beliefs, or options in any way, especially through force, or threat of force or privation. And my goal as an anarchist, is not so much "conspiracy to overthrow the US government" as it is conspiracy to overthrow the slave within myself, and to help others to do the same. Personal responsibility means (to me) to be aware and wary, to be strong and resist; to stand up when confronted; and to respect, listen to, encourage, and assist others (without prejudice) in their own struggles. ★



Love and Rage Political Statement

Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the use of diverse tactics in working toward a social revolution.

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

We oppose all states (governments) regardless of ideology. The purpose of the state is to maintain and regulate all forms of domination. The state has a monopoly on organized, legal violence: the police, military, and the prison system enforce the authoritarian organization of society. We oppose the immigration system and attempts to control the free movement of people across state borders. We believe that people can organize their own lives and communities. This self-organization can take care of any useful functions for which people now rely on the state.

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all resistance to capitalist domination—resistance such as strikes, workplace struggles, squatting, rent strikes, and struggles for community control of resources. We desire the total transformation of production and consumption in a life-affirming, cooperative economy. It should be decentralized, equitable, fluid and experimental and controlled by those who participate in it.

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We support the self-determination of all communities of color. We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We recognize the specific oppression of African-Americans from the time of slavery to the present. We fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the US. We acknowledge that the basis for the current racist society was laid by means

of genocide and forced assimilation of indigenous people. We support the preservation of cultural traditions and land rights for Native Americans. We support self-determination for Puerto Rico and an end to the oppression of Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. We oppose the oppression of Chicanos. We oppose anti-Jewish racism. We fight to expose cultural imperialism. We support self-determination for Québec and an end to the oppression of francophones in North America. We organize against racist skinhead, Klan, Nazi, and cop terror. We recognize and oppose the racism inherent in the economic, political, and military domination and exploitation of the so-called "third world." We are striving to create a society where people of all colors and ethnic backgrounds can feel safe, respected, and un-threatened by racism.

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

The society we fight for will celebrate the beauty of human diversity, honor the earth, and recognize the cultural and social contributions to the human community made by the planet's majority, people of color.

To create this society, humanity must overturn an existing one imposed on the planet by a minority through force—one that has enslaved the planet's majority for the enrichment of a few. This refers to all forms of state imperialism, not just domination by Western finance capital. **Love and Rage** supports the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples for self-determination and freedom from domestic and foreign domination. We critically support the struggles

of less powerful countries against imperialist bullying and control. This means dismantling all existing imperialist structures, including the US federal state.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We reject the patriarchy and fight for the empowerment, liberation and self-determination of all wimmin. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible wimmin-centered health care for all wimmin (And all means all!) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of wimmin are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We recognize the responsibility of men to organize to change themselves and end patriarchy. We celebrate wimmin's strength and rejoice in our diversity and individuality.

Love and Rage supports Queer Liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family and traditional sex roles and support attempts to foster a diversity of consensual human relationships and sexuality. This includes the liberation of bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people.

Love and Rage is anti-ageist.

The manifestations of ageism take many forms, from the oppression of youth to the problems of older people, all of whom are marginalized and alienated from this society. Our ideas for liberation are always developing and cannot be presented in a paragraph, but must be discussed in the paper as a

whole and throughout our entire lives. This issue cannot be simplistically addressed, and will be dealt with in relevant articles on the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) Page and elsewhere.

Love and Rage is eco-anarchist.

All forms of life are intertwined. We reject the myth that people exist outside the natural world. Instead, we see human life as an integral part of nature.

At the same time, we see all forms of social domination as thoroughly interconnected with ecological destruction. We know that if we want to stop the destruction of the planet we must also end all forms of domination that corrode social life.

Merely changing individual lifestyles or "greening" capitalism will not save the planet. Instead we must understand that it is corporate and state capitalism together with forms of domination such as patriarchy and racism that are responsible for the current ecological crisis. An anarchist society must be ecological and an ecological society must be anarchistic.

This statement does not attempt to include all the issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians nor does **Love and Rage** pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

Outrageous!

B RITISH LES-
bian and gay
activist
group Outrage
have been busy
with their "Equal-
ity Now" cam-
paign. On February
6, 45 people were
arrested at an Out-
rage march on Par-
liament to demand
the repeal of all
anti-queer laws.

In 1989 there
were 3,500 prose-
cutions for con-
senting, adult
homosexual rela-
tions between
men; up to 50 men
went to prison.
Under British law
lesbian sex is "im-
possible," and
therefore not pun-
ishable. More than
460 were convicted
for "cruising" or
"chatting up"
other people in
public. In March,
Outrage held a
"wink-in" at Picca-
dilly Circus in Cen-
tral London, where
gay couples looked
lovingly at each

other and winked — which is illegal un-
der Section 32 of the 1956 Sexual Of-
fenses Act. No one was arrested.

Then, as if they hadn't already done a
bunch of really cool stuff, Outrage
stormed a Tower Records in London to
protest the US band Guns 'n' Roses. The
G'n'R song "One in a Million" contains
the line "Immigrants and faggots, the
make no sense to me. They come to our
country and think they'll do as they
please. Like start some mini-Iran and
spread some fucking disease." Protest-
ers plastered the band's records with
stickers reading "Queers say Fuck U,"
"Women say Fuck U," "Blacks say Fuck
U." One person was arrested.



Outrage
c/o London Lesbian and Gay Centre
67-69 Cowcross Street
London EC1M 6BP, UK

- blatantly plagiarized from 56a Info
Bulletin (address below)

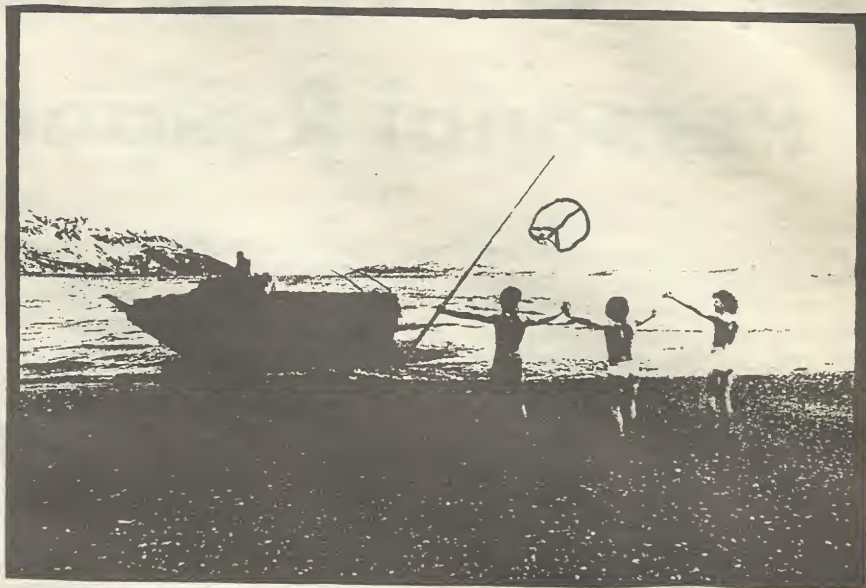
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN POWER

O VER ONE HUNDRED WOMEN
from Mexico, Canada, and the US
participated in the First Tri-Na-
tional Working Women's Conference on
Economic Integration and Free Trade.
The conference, organized by *Mujer a
Mujer* (Woman to Woman) and *Mujeres
en Accion Sindical* (Women in Union Ac-
tion), took place in Valle de Bravo,
Toluca, Mexico February 5-9, 1992. Par-
ticipants represented unions, women's
and community groups, church and jus-
tice organizations, research and policy
institutes, as well as national coalitions
and networks. They brought experience
from a wide range of sectors — educa-
tion, health, clothing and textiles, tele-
communications, banks and service, and
border *maquila* industries. The confer-
ence concluded with unanimous agree-
ment on the following statement and
plan of action:

Because economic integration is
based explicitly on women's participation
in the paid labor force, we — women of
Mexico, Canada and the United States —
demand that our respective govern-
ments guarantee basic rights to ade-
quate education, health care, food,
nutrition, housing, stability of employ-
ment, living salaries and training, volun-
tary maternity, and peace (that is the
ability to live free from violence) within
any tri-lateral agreement.

Women are prepared to participate
actively and to be subjects and pro-
tagonists in the dramatic processes of
change currently taking place through-
out the continent, and globally. Thus we
demand also that women's interests
and organizations be represented in
discussions and negotiations of any
tri-lateral trade agreement between
our countries.

No Clothes is the Best Defense



O N THE 20TH OF MARCH NATO
(North Atlantic Treaty Organi-
zation — the West of East-West
military tensions in Europe) invaded the
northern parts of Norway with 140
ships, 270 planes, 70 helicopters and
45,000 soldiers. "Exercise Teamwork
92" was the name of this operation. A
coalition of war resisters and environ-
mentalists gathered in the "Campaign
Against Teamwork" and took action
against this NATO exercise. When land-
ing, US Marine Corps encountered some
resistance as naked Teamwork-resisters
tried to stop them.

There is a long history of resistance to
the Teamwork exercises. In 1988 and
1990 Teamwork encountered massive

civil disobedience at several places in
Norway. Harbors were blocked when
ships tried to make port-calls.

In addition to the un-covered resis-
tance, there is a long history of native
resistance from the Sami people, an in-
digenous population living in northern
Norway. Huge parts of the various Team-
work operations have taken place on Sami
land, including the construction of perma-
nent facilities for the exercises, and the
protests of the Sami Parliament have been
ignored. The military exercises have
caused a lot of ecological damage and
have disrupted the Sami way of life.

- from Ekomedia (PO Box 98, N-9160
Vannvåg, Norway)

New and creative collective organiz-
ing initiatives and solidarity are essen-
tial to ensure that women are not left to
bear the brunt of governments' and cor-
porations' actions to restructure our
economies. We call on women's organi-
zations, popular groups, unions, and
other progressive forces committed to
women's equality to take steps to:

1) Organize the unorganized and un-
employed, using new strategies that
take into account women's specific
needs — in their families, communities,
and workplaces;

2) Strengthen existing unions, democ-
ratizing them and making them more
responsive to women;

3) Promote women's research, educa-
tion, and action networks, campaigns
and coalitions at provincial (state), na-
tional, and tri-national levels;

4) Create tri-national working links
among women and women's organiza-
tions in order to exchange information,
experiences, and materials. Sectoral and
cross-sectoral networks of union women
are particularly crucial.

Already some work has begun on
these initiatives. Mexican telephone
workers will be inviting counterparts
from the North for training and ex-
change around health and safety and
new technology resulting from privati-
zation.

For more information:
"Women's Plan of Action"
Mujer a Mujer Toronto
606 Shaw St.
Toronto, Ontario M6G 3L6

- from Ecomedia Toronto (PO Box 915,
Station F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9,
Canada)

Other Anarchist Contacts

This is a short list of some other anarchist resources.
We don't have the space to be comprehensive, so we
chose items which cover a broad range of anarchist
ideas and activity.

PUBLICATIONS

Profane Existence
POB 8722 Mpls, MN 55408 (\$9/6 issues)
- an anarcho-punk paper, with band reviews, anar-
chist news and history, and scene reports

Wind Chill Factor
POB 81961, Chicago, IL 60681 (\$15/cash/year)
- a creative bi-monthly (roughly) with letters, polemical
tirades, some ongoing discussions, reviews, and Chi-
cago and international news

Fifth Estate
4632 2nd Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 (\$6/year - 4 issues)
- a quarterly paper, somewhat on the theoretical side,
with a primitivist angle, news, reviews, letters

Anarchy
c/o CAL, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446
(\$12/year and 1/2 - 6 issues)
- a quarterly journal, also somewhat on the theoretical
side, but with a situationist angle, news, lots of letters,
lots of periodical reviews

The Shadow
POB 20298, NY, NY 10009 (\$10/year)
- a monthly (roughly): NY focused newspaper, news on
squatting, NY politics, anti-cop work

Bayou La Rose
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj., 302 N "J" St, #3, Ta-
coma, WA 98403 (\$2/?)
- news on native struggles, ecological struggles, and
more

Arm The Spirit
c/o Wild Seed Press, POB 57584
Jackson Station Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3, CANADA
(\$10/10 issues)
- an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal, reports on in-
ternational movements of armed resistance

Ideas and Action
POB 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140 (\$11.50/4 iss)

the annual publication of the Workers Solidarity Ali-
ance, an anarcho-syndicalist (anarchist union) group,
news and analysis about labor, the anarchist move-
ment, the world

Industrial Worker
1095 Market Street #204, San Francisco, CA 94103
(\$10/year)

monthly (roughly) publication of the Industrial Work-
ers of the World (also anarcho-syndicalists), news, let-
ters, analysis, labor movement stuff

Rebeller
Les Editions Rouges et Noir, CP 205, succursales "C",
Montréal, Québec H2J 4K1
(\$10/year 6 issues)
- monthly French-language anarchist paper, lots of
news and analysis

SOURCES FOR LITERATURE

Most if not all of these folks will sell you anarchist lit-
erature by mail. Many have catalogues for just that
purpose. Write to them for more information.

Left Bank Books
92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101

Librairie Alternative
2035 Boulevard St. Laurent
Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3, CANADA

Ediciones Antorcha
c/o Chantal Lopez y Omar Cortes, Apdo. 12-818, CP
03020, Mexico, DF, MEXICO

Wooden Shoe Books
112 South 20th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103

Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St, San Francisco, CA 94117

Perennial Books
PO Box 814, Montague, MA 01351

@-Distribution
Box 021835, Brooklyn, NY 11012

AYF Distribution
PO Box 8585, Mpls, MN 55408

Some Anarchist Stuff

NEW 'ZINES

Mutiny — (Summer 1992) — This is
the first issue of a funny, varied, thought
provoking 'zine from some of the folks
who work with the 404 Willis space in
Detroit. *Mutiny*, 4202 Trumbull, Detroit,
MI 48208 (313) 831 3903.

World War 3 Illustrated — (Number 17)
WW3 is a 'zine of politics and graphic
arts, with a definite anarchist/anti-
authoritarian leaning. \$3 + \$1.50 post-
age — WW3, PO Box 20271, NY, NY
10009.

@-wire — anarchist news-sheet (in the
tradition of *Ecomedia Toronto*) for the
New York City area. @-wire, c/o PO Box
3, NY, NY 10012.

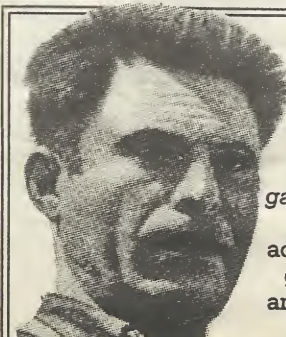
Super Colon (*Admiral of the Ocean
Sea*) — "...a 48 page, bilingual (Span-
ish/English), historical comic book de-
signed to counter prevailing myths
about Columbus' 1492 voyage, the colo-
nization and holocaust, and stereotypes
about native peoples." Looks good. —
\$3.50 plus \$2.50 postage — *SuperColon*,
1838 Pine St. Boulder, CO, 80302.

NEW @-RELATED SPACES AND PLACES

Newsspeak — "A bookstore for diffi-
cult people." New bookstore in Provi-
dence, RI, carries anarchist and
anti-authoritarian material. Sounds like
a good place. Newsspeak, 43 Richmond
St, Providence, RI, 02903

Cedar Park Anarchist Java Hut —
Philadelphia anarchist space (or is it a
place? nevermind...) that seems to do a
lot of different things. From discussion
groups to coffee, to food, to movies. The
Cedar Park Anarchist Java Hut, 4722
Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia, PA 19143
(215) 724 1469

Emma Community Center —
"...volunteer-run, membership, com-
munity center...The center will be
used to hold political meetings, sell
locally made arts and crafts, sell re-
cords and zines, have gigs and per-
formances, open a cafe and food
shelf, offer weekend child care, and
do lots of other great things..." Emma
Community Center, 2612 15th Ave.
South, Mpls, MN 55407



TO SMASH FASCISM AROUND THE WORLD WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

The Buenaventura Durruti International Anarchist Bri-
gade is an autonomous project dedicated to creating soli-
darity with our Latin American comrades. Anarchists
activists from the U.S. and Mexico are working to pull to-
gether pilot projects in Chile and México. Material aid
and financial contributions are needed. For more info write:
Durruti Brigade, PO Box 3 Prince St. Sta, NY, NY 10012

ELECTION REVOLT NEWS

ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A GENERAL ELECTION IN BRITAIN ON APRIL 9th, only 32% of registered voters voted for the winning Conservative Party. 46% voted for someone else or destroyed their ballots, and 22% didn't vote. In addition, many people are not registered, some to avoid the hated Poll Tax, whose name lists are drawn in part from voter rolls.

During the entire election campaign, politicians faced angry protests. Prime Minister John Major was hit (and injured, even) by eggs during several attempted campaign stops. In addition, candidates were the targets of more serious physical attacks, several being hospitalized.

The Anti-Election Alliance, including Class War and other libertarian groups, held an anti-election rally (about 1000 people) in Trafalgar Square in central London on April 4th. A statement from the Alliance reads "We know from experience that parliament is part of the ruling establishment which controls and uses the working class majority everyday — where we work and live. However, where there is oppression there is resistance. Strikes, demonstrations and protests, non payment of taxes and bills, defiance of authorities, self-education and self-organization. This is the real politics we will be enthusiastically promoting."

- from the 56a Info Bulletin (56 Crampton Street, London SE17, UK)

NOTES of revolt

(Ruining Imperialist Nostalgia)

SOME IRRESPONSIBLE HOOLIGANS have been just ruining the summer for people who are trying to celebrate 500 years of sensitive multi-cultural exchange between the Old World and the New World.

When Expo '92 opened in Seville, Spain in April, there were militant protests! When police tried to intervene, they were attacked with bats, clubs, and bottles. Stores were even looted.

On Sunday, April 19, squatters held an open air concert, but then some rascals held a spontaneous demonstration afterwards. Police fired into the crowd, seriously wounding 3. And then, on the next day, the activists blocked the entrance to the Expo. To protest police brutality, they claimed.

Even before the opening of the Expo, vandals were at work. The Pavilion of Discoveries, the main building, was burned right to the ground on February 18. Since then, there have been 4 more suspicious fires. When a replica of Amerigo Vespucci's ship was launched (the first to circumnavigate the globe) it sank right to the bottom before it got 100 yards. Then the crews of two other replicas mutinied at sea. What is the world coming to?



And as if it weren't bad enough in Spain, in Amsterdam hooligans are proposing to sink yet another colonial era replica. This ship, owned by the Nautical Museum of Amsterdam, has been called "a floating insult." And as if their plans weren't fanatical enough, the so-called committee that has made this public proposal to send this ship to the bottom on October 12, 1992, has declared that the decision will be made in a democratic vote by "all those who think they are involved" at a public tribunal a month before the proposed sinking. If these irresponsible...anarchists...decide to sink this monument to the glories of colonial shipping (like the slave trade), there will be a festival and a demonstration which will march to the site, and scuttle this important reminder of the glories of imperialism. Shocking.

- info from 56a Info Bulletin (56 Crampton St, London SE17, UK)

TORYS TRY TO SQUISH SQUATS

THE TORY BRITISH GOVERNMENT is trying to criminalize squatting and evict the squats. At the moment, squatting is covered only by civil law — meaning that you aren't subject to arrest just for squatting. The Tory government, before the recent elections, was proposing changing the law to make squatting criminal, so that squatters (50,000 in the UK) could just be tossed out or arrested without any civil eviction proceedings. How-

AIDS Conference Moves

THE VIII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on AIDS, scheduled to be held in Boston this May, was relocated to Amsterdam due to a discriminatory US immigration policy that bars the entry of HIV-infected people. This applies to applicants for residence, tourists, students, and refugees.

This policy is used to exclude 600 people a year, and was recently used to deport Haitians fleeing political terror in their country.

The policy went into effect in 1987 with an amendment sponsored by Jesse Helms. In fall 1990, Congress passed legislation that directed Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan to revise a list of excludable diseases to include only "communicable diseases of public health significance." According to Max Essex of the Harvard AIDS Institute, "These restrictions simply have no public health justification whatsoever. HIV is not casually contagious; it's reprehensible that ten years into the epidemic US policy is being driven by such ignorant, homophobic and xenophobic attitudes." In January 1991 Sullivan deleted HIV, but right-wingers within the Bush administration opposed the new policy and it was never implemented.

Many countries and groups such as the Red Cross/Red Crescent vowed to boycott conferences in countries that bar people with HIV, and the AIDS conference sponsors could not hold their conference in a country that excludes people with the disease under consideration. Bush has declared that the relocation of the conference "doesn't bother me." On the contrary, he is surely delighted! The administration's refusal to change the policy enabled them to deflect attention away from the AIDS crisis (and their lack of response) during the election season. AIDS cases have passed 225,000 in the US,

ever, since the election, they haven't made any serious moves on this threat.

Some folks think that the rise of shop-squatting — squatting retail space and running more and less formal shops out of it — is annoying big retailers who are pressuring Parliament to act against squatting. In a typical display of government intelligence, the Home Office's Consultation Paper on Squatting sez: "There are no valid arguments in defence of squatting...[we] are not concerned with spurious arguments claiming to justify squatting...[squatters are] moved by no more than self-gratification or an unreadiness to respect other people's rights."

Not surprisingly, the paper lists the familiar myths about squatters — that they move into your house while you're out shopping (such "squatting" is already criminal in Britain), that they are drug addicts, criminals, freeloaders. Not surprisingly, the "opposition" party, the "Labor" Party, is behind this change in the laws all the way. The British press loved it: "Now Squatters Will Face Jail," gloated The Standard, "Squatters Face Prison," said the Daily Mail, and the pseudo-exposé "The Day Squatters Invaded Our Home," also from The Standard.

it is a leading cause of years of life lost, and it is increasingly affecting women, the poor, and people of color.

ACTUP/Boston held a press conference on May 26 to call attention to the relocation. There was also an action on Sunday, July 19 (the day the conference begins in Amsterdam) starting at noon at the Hynes Convention Center in Boston and proceeding to the Immigration and Naturalization Service office where a rally will be held (for more information, contact 617-49-ACTUP or 617-253-6693).

The control of who is allowed to enter territory "belonging" to a country is one of the most blatant abuses of state power. The US is the only industrialized nation to exclude HIV-positive persons.

The US also bars alcoholics, drug users, the mentally ill, sex workers, "paupers," and those who have committed crimes of moral "turpitude." The ban on "sexual deviants" (lesbian, gay, and bisexual people) was removed only last year by an act of Congress.

Anarchists are excludable, as is anyone who has "advocated or taught by personal utterance, by written or printed matter, or through affiliation with an organization" opposition to organized government, the overthrow of government, or the unlawful destruction of property.

The exclusion of Communist Party members was recently revoked (imagine another country excluding members of the Republican Party!).

Interestingly, the exclusion of those who have "incite[d], assist[ed], or otherwise participate[d] in persecuting any person because of race, religion, national origin, or political opinion" only applied between March 1933 and May 1945 in association with the German Nazi government or its allies (by implication, it's acceptable now).

ANARCHIST CALENDAR

NOW!

GET YER BUTTS TO IDAHO!
call Binky (406) 721 4255

- urgent call to action from Earth First!, about a small group opposing a big Forest Service cut in Idaho. They need help to keep them trees standing.

AUGUST 15th

EARTHFEST '92

(Michigan State Fairgrounds, Detroit)

c/o Jam Rag

Box 20076

Ferndale, MI 48220

- liberal-looking eco/music fest

OCTOBER 2nd-4th

THE NEXT MOVE IS YOURS

(Bloomington, Indiana)

Joseph and Trash O'Brat

PO Box 3207

Bloomington, IN 47402-3207

- regional anarchist gathering & fun fest

OCTOBER 12th

ANTI-COLUMBUS DAY

(everywhere)

- There will be anti-Quincentenary actions all over the place. In particular, there's a lot planned for New York and San Francisco, but everywhere else too.

NOVEMBER 26th-29th

LOVE AND RAGE CONFERENCE

(Atlanta, Georgia)

L&R Supporters

PO Box 5236 Atlanta, Georgia 30307

(404) 577 3020

- annual conference of the Network which produces this paper; fun & politics

SOMETIME THIS YEAR

WEST COAST @ GATHERING

(Between San Diego and Vancouver)

Stefan Wray

2440 16th Street, Box 241

San Francisco, CA 94103

Over the last year, there has been a massive increase in the number of squat evictions in London. One tactic has been the abuse of Protected Intending Occupier (PIO) notices. If there is a tenant ready to move into squatted property, the squatters can get evicted fast; but many of those "intending" tenants turned out to not exist at all.

However, there is opposition. Within a month of the government's proposal to criminalize, groups and individuals formed SQUASH (Squatters Action For Secure Homes). On February 5, activists from SQUASH occupied an empty office block in London to demonstrate how much empty office space there is. Local groups are forming and work is being done to support the squats in many ways. At the same time, some fear that this move on the Tory's part reflects a general move within the European Community to clamp-down against squatting, and wonder what is next.

SQUASH
2 St Pauls Road
London, N1
ENGLAND

- from 56a Info Bulletin (a mighty nice quarterly publication)

500 Anti-Racists Shout Down Klan in Dubuque

A SMALL CONTINGENT OF ABOUT 25 Ku Klux Klansmen, protected by barricades and over 100 cops in riot gear (sound familiar?) was met by a vocal anti-racist gathering of about 500 that shouted down the Klan's message of hate and genocide in Dubuque, Iowa on May 29. Dubuque has been a target of Klan organizing since last fall, when about a dozen cross-burnings in that city attracted national attention. This city of 58,000 (2% black) is primarily a working-class city. With economic hard-times hitting people in the pocketbook especially hard, their city has become a focal-point of Klan organizing in the Midwest.

During the Klan rally, the NAACP held a "We Shall Overcome" picnic on the other side of town. Fortunately, not everyone in Dubuque has chosen to ignore the Klan's organizing efforts. Citizens United for Respect and Equality (CURE) was the driving force behind the organizing effort of the Dubuque rally. Formed for the specific task of confronting the Klan, CURE had video cameras at the rally for the purpose of identifying open Klan supporters and targeting them for boycotts.

The next day, 30-40 anarchists and anti-racists from around the Mid-West participated in a demo which stopped an attempted Klan cross-burning in Janesville, Wisconsin.

CURE
Box 1400
Dubuque, IA 52004
(319) 556 4000 (ext. 88)

Class War: A Decade of Disorder; edited by Ian Bone, Alan Pollen, and Tim Scargill, Verso Press, London 1992, price not listed, available at radical bookstores

CLASS WAR'S NEW BOOK OUT-lines the history of working class riots, strikes, protests, resistance, and fighting back in general in the past decade in Britain. Its focus is mainly on England, and very little attention was given to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Whether or not this was intentional I don't know, but it did bother me.

Being a (fucked over) industrial worker myself, I can often relate to the anger CW conveys. They always have been clever at portraying their anger. But however necessary our violence is, and no matter how fun fucking shit up is, sometimes CW overglorifies/romanticizes violence. Still, even when this is the case, it will most always give you a laugh or at least put a smile on you face. It will also pump up those good 'ole adrenal glands reading it, inspiring the anger in all of us. It is very real and raw anger; a natural response to oppression/repression, so what better way to stay healthy as individuals and in our communities than to laugh at those around us and those causing it? Especially in a way that is humiliating to or smashing that power. No one does this quite like Class War.

The beginning of the book is mainly CW's view of (theory, so to speak) Class politics; basically boiling down to one clear and obvious message; "the time to seize back control of our lives, communities, and workplaces, and then ruthlessly hunt down our (class) enemies is now." The middle of the book is taken up by what is more like a detailed revolutionary labor politics than revolutionary life politics (ie discussing all intersecting oppressions and how they all work together against us). Instead, they put class in the forefront, and all else comes second. I never could quite agree with this. (I'll explain this more later). It wasn't until the very end of the book that 3 or 4 short pages were given to wimmin's inclusion in the process of fighting back, and only 1 or 2 pages on Britain's Asian population. To add not one mention of Queer War. Needless to say, the writing at times reeked of exclusion and male supremacy. Nowhere is this more clear than within the actual field of industrial and factory labor itself. So, eventually, I felt excluded from the writing. Of the rare time wimmin were mentioned it was about a miner's wife (collecting money, or something of the sort) or to isolate the issue of rape, calling it an anti-social crime. Rapists should be killed, true, as CW calls for, but there's more to sexual terrorization than that, and it effects both men and wimmin.

CW believes that from a strengthened class consciousness, combativity will emerge and begin to challenge control of society as a whole. I guess I feel that a strengthened consciousness of the interlocking oppressions we face, combined with a heightened class consciousness, will bring about these sweeping changes. I don't know though, because building political community has already become so diluted by liberals and their tokenism.

where also, otherwise all these things will continue to plague us and serve to further break us apart. I don't know if CW sees rallying around class first as a tactical matter or if other things are just being overlooked.

As I continued to read into the middle of the book I felt that CW was overlooking the centuries of patriarchal societal structure at large. The language and examples cited made me feel excluded from the anger and energy in the book.

So, I guess my question is, if CW's analysis is going to weigh so heavily on workers' struggles and radicalizing the workplace and our communities, why isn't a holistic reality taken into account and these things questioned more?

To further exemplify this, and what pissed me off most, was CW's use of the term "proletarian fraternity" to describe the working class. I don't expect CW (or anyone) to change their political analysis to fit an agenda where sexism comes first, then class, then this and that. I expect that these things be looked at first and DEMANDED by us (not because we're too PC, uppity, or whatever either). I don't see CW as doing this. There just plain and simple is such a deep rooted exclusion here that needs to be examined.

CW does do something, though, that many do not. They project their ideas into the future (but don't dwell there in overkill) posing questions to themselves about how to police themselves once the state's cops are smashed, and about ownership, power, equal distribution. They are developing practical solutions *NOW*.

I was also really impressed to see the defense of rural communities, land rights, and how the rich land owners are turning the right of having access to open country into a privilege with a price on it. They described the rural removal taking place; how people born in the countryside are being forced to move

I got a little frustrated again when seeing such little notice given to race/racism. There is a large impoverished (working class) population of Kurdish, Indian, Pakistani, Caribbean, African, and other peoples in Britain.

Book Review

Even in light of what I just said, I think CW is working harder now than ever to fight the war against racism — fighting the British Nationalist Party, working more with Asian youth.

While the main messages of class anger erupting and class politics run throughout the whole book, they carried over into the specific topics and events also written about throughout it — the Poll Tax Riot, Live Aid, the Gulf War, the Strangeways Prison Riot, empowering mentions of youth involvement in all its various forms of struggle, and finally those great exposés of the Socialist Worker's Party/Militant for the scumbags they are. Even though some of it's empty name calling, they couldn't be more correct when calling the SWP "...trendy intellectuals who want to play at being revolutionaries but still enjoy all the benefits of a privileged position within consumer capitalism...unlike the Left, we do not support what we don't want. We do not choose between our oppressors."

Although they used the term "proletarian fraternity" they state and feel that "we all must be ruthless and determined to defend our brothers and sisters by whatever means necessary."

Class War, in my opinion, is definitely taking steps in the right (or rather a good) direction. Just so long as they're more conscious of digging a bit further beneath the given in the already established anarchist community and being able to spread that outward. Doing things simply and analyzing extensively go hand in hand, so that exclusion is ended.

Despite the problems, this book is recommended reading. ★

For news and analysis of Anarchy In The UK. Canada, Mexico, the US, and around the world, subscribe to Love and Rage, a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly, and have every issue delivered to your door by a uniformed agent of the state.

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...Rhymes With Queen

BY ANNIE THING

THE FIRST THING YOU HAVE TO know is how to pronounce it. Zine rhymes with queen — since it's short for magazine. This is really important because if you go up to someone and say "I really like your zine, man!" and you pronounce it "zyne" (as in rhymes with fine), they're only gonna remember that, and not listen to whatever else you have to say.

The second important thing to know about the zine world is that not all "queer" zines are totally queer in the conventional sense of the word. So if you are one of those queer national brain-washed-neo-fascist "everything queer is good and everything straight sucks" zombies, then attention: THIS IS NOT YOUR SCENE.

Third, let me give you a word of encouragement and a warning. Anyone can do a zine. All you need is a pair of scissors, a glue stick, a long-reach stapler, and access to a xerox machine. But just because you can or may do a zine, doesn't mean that you should. The best zines are the ones that are saying something that is not being said anywhere else and are done by people that do not have access to a Macintosh computer with a slick desktop publishing program.

Over the past few years, the zine scene has exploded. In the pile that sits in the corner of my bedroom, there are hundreds of them. They come in all different sizes, some are color, but most are black and white. Some are mostly poetry and pictures and some are all cartoons. The one thing about my favorite zines is that they all share a punk, garage aesthetic, a healthy balance of anger, humor, and tongue planted-firmly-in-cheek camp.

ANGRY GRRRL/YOUTH CULTURE ZINES

Bikini Kill: It's all about Revolution Girl-Style NOW. Fuck sexist men. Bikini Kill is also a band that inspired the Nirvana song "Smells Like Teen Spirit," but don't tell them I told you. Serious punk girls kicking it where it counts.

Zine: BK, c/o Riot Grrrl PO Box 11002, Washington, DC 20008 (\$1 & 2 stamps)

Tape: K Records, Box 7154, Olympia, WA 98507 (\$7)

Riot Grrrl (NY): Angst and ennui, grrrl style. They're young and they're in NYC now. Band and show reviews. 260 E 6th St. #17, NYC 10003. (\$1)

Girl Germs: Also punk rock girls with a band, Bratmobile. Molly and Allison Germs welcome us to their world. Not to be missed. PO Box 1473, Olympia, WA 98507. Send money (cash) and stamps. Bratmobile single from K Records.

SEX ZINES

Brat Attack: Do-it-yourself S/M for dykes. Valuable how-to S/M info, sexy stories, cartoons and extensive resource lists. This is hotter than *On Our Backs* by far. PO Box 40754, SF, CA 94141-0754. (\$3)

Up Our Butts: For girls into anal sex, and their admirers. Hilarious Peppermint Patty cartoon is worth the price alone. PO Box 40126, SF, CA 94140. (\$2)

OTHERS

JDs: The original Homocore zine. Bruce LaBruce is Bruce LaBruce. He has a tattoo of Jodie Foster (before that stupid Silence of the Lambs controversy). Everyone needs *JDs*. Box 1110 Adelaide St, Toronto, Ontario CANADA M5C 2K5 (\$5)

Screambox: Experiments by girls from San Francisco. I am jealous of these people. Art and sex, too. 7985 Santa Monica Blvd, Suite 109-51 LA, CA 90046 (\$3)

Hothead Paisan: HOTHEAD RULES. Diane DiMassa is the next Norman Rockwell. Adventures of a homicidal lesbian terrorist. She goes around throwing hand grenades at stupid straight boys and breeders, and hangs out with her cat, Chicken. If I only had \$3 and had to choose between buying the next issue of *Hothead* or a pack of cigarettes, weell...GAP PO Box 214, New Haven, CT 06502 (\$3)

Riot Gear (formerly *Three Dollar Bill*): Deke and Clay are punk, fag, anarchists with incredible politics. They're pro-choice and they riot. PO Box 190176, SF, CA 04119-0176 (\$2)

Pussy Grazer: New York's premiere co-sexual zine. Homage to Lesbian Psycho Killers. Stupid, rich, white fags must die. A zine with its very own special flavor. Not to be missed. Love, Annie Thing and Glennnda Orgasm, PO Box 20553 Tompkins Square Station, NYC 10009 (\$3 & 2 stamps).

There's tons more, too. For the most comprehensive list of queer and queer-friendly zines that I know of, write to: *Holy Titclamps Zine Explosion*, Box 3054 Minneapolis, MN 55403 (\$2) or pick up a copy of *Factsheet Five*, the premiere magazine review venue, which is presently being re-vamped and should be out again soon.

The main thing to be learned from all of this is that the zine world may very well be the only place where people like you and I (young, angry, misunderstood, and disillusioned) can see our views expressed. I guess it's kind of confusing at first, but once you get past the initial stages, and tap into it, the zine thing becomes a healthy, mad addiction. Dare I say, a way of life? ★

ANARCHISTS AT THE CONVENTION

BY MATT BLACK

AS PROMISED, THERE WAS ANARCHIST opposition at the Democratic National Convention in New York, the week of July 11-16. Anarchist events kicked off on Sunday, July 12, with a *Crash the Convention Concert* and speak-out, attended by 300 people in Central Park. During the entire week anarchist and homeless activists were camped out at Sheep's Meadow in the park.

This was a real victory for the folks at Unconventional Action, a New York based anarchist group. The city's first response to reports of plans for a Central Park encampment was a flat "No Way." By the end, they agreed to let Unconventional Action have a cop-free space in a

March was called to protest the increasing presence of police and the state in all parts of our lives; ironically, the march was surrounded by police for its duration.

Despite the variety of protests, the action around the convention was somewhat disappointing. Most of the "protests" were not really protesting the Democrats, but were asking them to pay attention; asking them to make campaign promises they'd surely break later. How many times does a politician have to lie before people stop believing them?

The *No Police State March* was definitely the most militant protest, and one of the few that was demanding fundamental change. Unfortunately, the March (around 200 people at the peak) was quickly over-



prime park location from dawn until 1 am every day, and a Park's Department building with lockers, showers, and — get this — a pool, from 11 pm til 2 pm. Unconventional Action accepted, and people camped in the park anyway. Unfortunately, reports are that the encampment was pretty small (20 to 35 people), but a victory in any case.

On Monday, July 13 there was the *Take Back Our Lives* march of women and men to protest violence against women. On Tuesday, July 14 there were two big events: the *United For AIDS Action* march, and the *Mock Convention* by the Women's Action Coalition. The *Mock Convention* was focused on demanding action on pro-choice and anti-violence legislation. *United for AIDS Action* was the largest protest during Convention week.

On Wednesday, July 15 Unconventional Action held an *Unconventional Smoke-In* to protest repressive anti-marijuana laws and to dispel the myths about marijuana spread by conservatives.

Finally, on Thursday, July 16 there were two actions: a protest sponsored by Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador against military aid to El Salvador, and a *No Police State March*. The

powered by police; and despite the fact that the March took the streets in front of the Convention, it was penned in and then broken up relatively quickly.

This was a result of both the fact that the police immediately viewed the March as a threat, but also that the marchers weren't ready to effectively defend themselves. If we want to have successful, safe demonstrations, we'll need to learn how to work together to frustrate the cops' efforts to break us up.

Now that the Democrats have had their circus, we have the Republican National Convention to look forward to. There is plenty planned to disrupt their fun (we're also hoping for one of the freak floods that'll put the George R. Brown Convention Center half-way underwater). In addition to the Republicans, the Klan has promised to march, and Operation Rescue will be trying to shut down every clinic Houston. The Austin comrades need our help. For more information, contact these friendly folks in Austin, and they'll be glad to tell you more:

Atlanta Collective Hotline
(512) 445 8351

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These lovely t-shirts are available thru Love and Rage for \$12. Not only are they great shirts, and if you buy some, we might get the phone turned back on...

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PO Box 581354
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LOVE AND RAGE ANNUAL CONFERENCE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, US

Thurs, November 26 — Sun, November 29

Like it says in the gray box on page 2, the Love and Rage Network meets in a large conference once a year to make major decisions. We also have fun, dance, eat, drink, talk to people we don't see much, and generally try to get some work done and have a good time. This is the major decision-making body of the Network; this is the place and time where we decide how we're going to work together in the future. Everyone who is genuinely interested in Love and Rage is welcome.

☐ Food, housing, childcare, access to showers, translation (from/to Spanish and French), and more will be provided.

☐ I have a special need: _____

Love and Rage Supporters in Atlanta, PO Box 5236, Atlanta, GA 30307-9998
(404) 577 3020 or (212) 925 7966 (Network Office)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State/Prov _____
Zip/Postal Code _____ Country _____
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Please return this coupon with \$5 to the Atlanta address printed above. We'll send you a packet with more complete information closer to the conference date.



Queer Prisoner Anthology Seeking Contributions

COLD IRON IS A WRITING AND ART ANTHOLOGY, BY AND ABOUT GAY and lesbian prisoners. They are looking for submissions: any work that reflects the experiences and concerns of Gay, Lesbian, and Queer prisoners, their lovers and families will be considered.

The editor(s) seeks material that reflects the diversity of the community. Lin Elliot, the editor, and prisoner at Clallam Bay, WA, is especially interested in work that is a collaboration between prisoners and people on the outside.

If you write to Cold Iron they will provide you with the specifics for submissions.

Cold Iron
c/o John Fall
1457B 22nd Ave
Seattle, WA 98122

ABC

anarchist black cross

Back in Belfast

Part Two of Joe Doherty's Letter from Prison

The story that follows is installment #2 of Irish Republican prisoner Joe Doherty's article detailing his deportation. After years of imprisonment in the US for alleged crimes he was tried for in Britain, he was deported. Joe wrote the article upon arriving at Crumlin prison and it was smuggled out. This article first appeared in the March 17th issue of the Irish Voice. Love and Rage ran the first part of the story in the May issue.

TEN THOUSAND FEET UP I could see the American coast line. I always thought of the pain I would feel if I saw the New Land for the last time. I tried to keep my mind to the future hours and days. I had no time to be sentimental. My dramatic upcoming arrival in London braced me into a disciplined and hardened attitude for the tough hours and days ahead. I had trained myself for months for this emotional moment.

Hours went by and I could not escape the thoughts of my life in the states. The

legal battles fought and won. The friends I had come to love and the many personal experiences I faced.

Nearing the English coastline I felt quite proud of myself and the many things I had achieved in America. I was a winner, giving my every day in the US prisons, struggling to touch people so that they could feel the oppression in Ireland. The enormous support gathered for my plight testified to the work done and the victory achieved. My two attorneys, Mary Pike and Steve Somerstein had a proud client, and I was embraced by no finer friends.

Coming to taxi at the Royal Air Force base I felt bitter at the US government for this sell-out to the British. This affront to the law is an insult to all Americans. The US Marshall could not look me in the face, the shame was there.

I looked out the window, guns were everywhere. The US Marshall awkwardly said goodbye. I made a last complaint at this middle-of-the-night stage play. It was fruitless. I was carried down the stairway. I was confronted by Royal Ulster Constabulary officers. "We arrest you under the Emergency Provisions Act for escape from lawful custody," they said.

As my American escort backed off, I knew it was over. Cuffed again, on top of the American cuffs, I hobbled 50 yards to the waiting plane. Two R.A.F. officers looked nervously at me as we struggled to find room. We agreed that we might not make the three hour trip to Belfast. Cuffed to R.U.C. Detective Stewart, I knew that if I fell out of this thing, I would be in good company. I smiled at the thought. But we made the trip across the Irish Sea. It was approaching 1:00 am. Seeing the Ulster coastline and the city lights of Belfast made my heart beat as we got nearer. I was relieved to see land of some kind. I asked the R.U.C. man where we were going. "Home," he said. "Where?" I asked. "The Crumlin Road Prison," he smiled. "You know the place, eh?" Yeah, I do...I do.

Watching the city below, my life rolled before me: my childhood playing on those streets, my youth spent behind barricades, and my formative years as an Irish republican guerilla fighter. And finally, my departure in 1981 to find refuge in America. My thoughts were a mixture of homecoming joy and sadness, of the land and people I left behind in America.

I pressed my face to the window, watching the peacefulness of Belfast below. It was a wonderful paradox. On seeing a military helicopter below us, ominously flying above sleeping rooftops, I was jolted back to reality. This was war-torn Belfast.

We finally landed, to the amazement of all on board. Coming to taxi, I could see the heavily armoured welcoming party. Lights were kept at a low. I guess the US and British governments didn't want the publicity. An army of heavily armed paramilitary police surrounded the plane immediately. I gazed nervously at their faces. I guess I was more apprehensive, than nervous. Gone were my Bill of Rights protections. And facing me were an array of guns, and men only too willing to use them. They were all around me, gazing studiously into my face, like I was some specimen. I also searched their faces. No words were spoken. But I could hear dim whispers, many of them were young, maybe in their early twenties. The R.U.C. faces portrayed both fear and hatred. I guess a sense of loss too. It was indeed a sad and perplexing moment. Some of these faces were born before the conflict. Like many nationalist youth, war became their life. That initial imprint in a darkened airport brought home to me the saddening dilemma of our country: fear, hatred, and a sense of loss for us all.

We sped through the streets to the Crumlin Road prison in Belfast. I had dreaded the thought of this moment since the US marshalls had put the leg irons on. But, I was physically and psychologically prepared for my arrival at the prison, and the insults and beatings, if need be.

I finally stepped off the armoured truck and came face to face with the familiar Crumlin prison court yard. Almost twenty years ago, I first encountered this place of imprisonment. Eleven years ago, I walked across this very court yard, prison guard uniform on, escaping to freedom. I felt a sense of jubilant pride as I walked to my cell.

I was taken to B wing for the night. It was a familiar Crumlin Road prison cell. History was written all over its walls. Republicans have been through B wing for a century, or more. Then, as now, there was no toilet. The traditional pot was in the corner, adjacent to the bucket of stale drinking water. A few Ulster cockroaches came forth to greet me, Catholic or protestant, I don't know. The urine atmosphere greeted me and I missed already the comfort of my US prison cell.

The story will continue in the next issue.

PRISONERS FORCED TO WORK FOR US WAR EFFORT

THIS INFO CAME TO US VIA ON GOGOL BOULEVARD FROM DAN ARMSTRONG, a prisoner in the Federal Correctional Institution, Littleton, Colorado.

What we received was a copy of a newsletter page extolling the benefits of prisoners producing products for the military. The heading reads: "Persian Gulf War Federal Prison Industries: Meeting the military's needs when quality really counted." There is a photo of a prisoner assembling helmets, followed by a short blurb that reads "Federal Prison Industries (trade name UNICOR) was among those manufacturers producing equipment and supplies for the war effort. FPI factories made everything from Kevlar helmets, battle dress uniforms and beds, to cables for the Patriot Missile System, often producing items in half the time normally required."

Dan is trying to make people on the outside aware of the (very profitable) ties between UNICOR and the prison system. UNICOR, which is a private government corporation, operates over 80 factories, making huge profits by exploiting cheap prisoner labor.

The page we received was one of 15 pages on the work situation in prisons that Dan put together. He is being helped by Wind Chill Factor from Chicago, and they will send you the 15 pages for postage.

Dan is now being leaned on by prison authorities for sending out all this info. Write to Dan and give him some support, and write Wind Chill Factor for a copy of the information. Don't forget to include \$ for mailing, and if you could spare it, they could probably use help with copying costs.

James Daniel Armstrong #04617-051
Federal Correctional Institute
Englewood-Upper East
9595 W. Quincy Ave.
Littleton, CO 80123

Wind Chill Factor
P.O.B. 81961
Chicago, IL 60681

CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisons in North America, write to any or all of the following groups:

Bulldozer
PO Box 5052 Station A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4
CANADA

Through The Walls
472 Albert St
Kingston, ONT K7L 3W3
CANADA

Anarchist Black Cross Vancouver
PO Box 2881
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4
CANADA

Wimmin Prisoner
Support Network
PO Box 770, Station P
Toronto, ONT M5S 2Z1
CANADA

Project 1313
PO Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

Anarchist Black Cross New York
c/o Love and Rage
PO Box 3
NY, NY 10012

Anarchist Black Cross
San Lorenzo PO Box 215
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Prisoner's Legal News
PO Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

The ANTI-WARrior
48 Shaftuck Sq.
Berkeley, CA 94704

Leonard Peltier
Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End
The Marion Lockdown
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607
Chicago, IL 60604

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

FROM L&R SUPPORT GROUP IN PERU

On October 27th, 1991, anarchist comrade Andrés Villaverde was accused of an act of sabotage and detained. He was arrested by National Police and later he was interrogated by DINCOTE (the Counter Terrorist Agency). When no tangible evidence was found to back up the charge, Andrés was accused of being a militant of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path, the Communist Party of Peru) and taken to Castro-Castro, Peru's maximum security prison. Nine months have passed since his detention and his case has not even been opened yet. An international campaign is developing to gain his release.

Please send telegrams, telexes and letters calling for an immediate review of his case, and demanding his release based on the lack of evidence against him. Letters and the like should be sent to: **Sr. Presidente Alberto Fujimori** (address in spanish section, pg.2)

FROM KOLEKTIVO MANO NEGRA IN CHILE

The CEPSS (Social Health and AIDS Center for Education and Prevention) provides services for people with HIV and AIDS. One of these people is Jorge Saavedra Sanhueza, a 22 year old who is HIV infected along with his wife, Rosa and his 13 month old son, Jorgito. Jorge has been struggling to support his family, which led him to steal a jacket last year which he then sold to feed his baby. He was imprisoned, charged with robbery and assault.

Jorge has been held in the Coronel prison since February 1992, with no legal aid, no medical attention, and in isolation. Please write letters and collect signatures (petitions are available from L&R) demanding his release and send them to:

Sr. Presidente Patricio Alwyns. Sr. Alcaide de Coronel, Dr. Jorge Cantillano and Dr. Sergio Micco (addresses in spanish section, pg.2)

Anarchist Youth Federation

BY JON GEORGE

FOR ME, THE GATHERING WAS not the most pleasant I've ever been at. While this view comes from what happened at the gathering, keep in mind that it is also colored by various non-political experiences which had deleterious effects upon my perception.

The most disappointing part of the whole gathering for me was the lack of an AYF presence. When this event was first proposed, it was a national AYF conference where we could get to know other chapters and hammer things out. Later, it was decided that a Midwest regional gathering would be thrown in also (at least, that's how I understood it). First and foremost Ohio was punk party. Second, it was an anarchist gathering. Thirdly, if at all, it laid claim to the title of AYF conference. I was extremely bummed, because I'd been gearing up for this for almost a year, since the Love & Rage meeting in Minneapolis.

Part of the blame lies with AYF members themselves. Of course, many people no doubt have many good reasons for not attending. I hope they do. Secondly, the AYF was relegated to the background, a victim of poor planning. Its meeting was announced for the first afternoon, when few people had shown up. Therefore, we decided to move it to a different time when more AYFers would be around. Because of typically tight conference scheduling, we were stuck with a dinner hour. (oh yeah, we could have had it late at night or early in the morning, but that would have cut into peoples' drinking and hangover hours. Come on, folks! If the revolution starts at 8 a.m. we can't reschedule it because we're too sick from the night before. No wonder we don't have much credibility in the anarchist milieu—although some of that lack of credibility is due to ageist/intellectual snobbery so don't start snickering too hard you oh-so-superior older anarchist fucks who are reading this.)

Ironically enough, this first meeting was also the best attended. The later meetings, squeezed between movies and the open mike, saw steady attrition

they're stuck" but that's just the frustration talking, and you can't go on by yourselves.

However, if we can't get a good number of people to attend a conference well-publicized months in advance, I wonder how likely it is that we can all thrash out our differences in a discussion bulletin. If it's not in us to get it together, then there's no point in continuing with a sham federation.

Facing the AYF are some proposals for a political statement/statement of common beliefs or goals, and a structure for voting. These two things are seen by most at the conference as necessary for one main reason — to weed out the yahoos.

Most of us at the conference desire a short political statement that will be vague enough to give us broad appeal and autonomy, yet specific enough to prevent racist/sexist/homophobic/statist/etc. goons from calling themselves AYF.

Most of us also want to entertain ideas on a proposed structure which includes a system for voting. To be honest, I couldn't explain it to you in full detail, but it aims at consensus and will not accept less than 90% agreement on issues. Presumably, this structure will be integrated with the statement of principles at allow some sort of oversight of groups who try and deviate drastically and cannot be considered anarchist and don't deserve to use the AYF name. (For a full copy of the proposal, see AYF DISCUSSION BULLETIN#2)

The voting structure will also be used to get complete AYF endorsement of certain proposals, such as the election boycott, etc. Of course, this will not prevent any local group from putting out whatever it wants under its local name. Hopefully, this structure will allow autonomy but not let a local group prostitute the whole federation. Anyway, that's about it for the AYF portion of the gathering.

In related news, I have for you a communique from the Goof Liberation Front (Again, see Disco Bul #2)

Several other things about the gathering: As usual, some idiots decided to place highly conspicuous graffiti in parts of the Student Union at the college where the gathering was held (which I think was cleansed off but I'm not sure)—despite repeated pleas from organizers not to commit this kind of mayhem. Also, it should be noted that graffiti was allowable in certain parts of the Union upstairs. People who do this kind of shit should be banned from future gatherings. A case could of course be made that this kind of vandalism is a justifiable attack on an educational institution. However, the anarchists need to respect the primacy of the local group in matters like this. Also, it makes no sense to attack people who have welcomed you in their scene.

Another point — as a major workshop organizer took ill, I was one of those who volunteered to continue a workshop he was scheduled to do—the one on class struggle. It was supposed to be about making class struggle concrete and breaking out of "the ghetto of lifestyle." (nice phrase, Dan).

This started off on a so-so note with a discussion of work or community-based organizing. However, some people kept insisting we not refer to us anarchists as "us", and non-anarchist workers as "them". The idea of labels apparently scares these people, as they would have us (there I go again, shame on me) refer

to everyone as us, which makes me wonder sometimes which us the non-me us is talking about. Well, this concept of identifying with everyone on a personal level without labels was soon extended to include class enemies and I was admonished not to call the wealthy "them" but should get to know wealthy people

to oppress them to fund reaction. You can't justify oppression no matter what your goal is. So a big fuck you to all you normal-looking, suit-wearing bourgeois 9-to-5ers pretending to be forwarding the revolution. I don't want to get to know you personally. You're not worth knowing. You're one of "them".

Four Days in Ohio

personally instead.

By now, we were about as far from class struggle as is humanly possible. But it gets worse. Maybe I'm just weird, but for me anarchism is unique in that the means of revolution must be in synch with the aims of revolution for actions to be justified. In other words, we reject the communist notion that a hierarchical and dictatorial revolutionary party is an honest method for attaining a free and classless society. I always thought we opposed this theory not only because it's never worked in practice but also because we oppose hierarchy and dictatorship in themselves.

Thus, for me, anarchists have an obligation to participate minimally if at all in systems of oppression and coercion. And so I fail to see how someone can consider themselves an anarchist when they do participate, even if they do it ostensibly for the revolution. That doesn't make it any better. Is it justifiable to raise minks for slaughter if you trade the coats to homeless people only? Of course not, because you can't justify slaughtering minks in the first place. It's illogical to believe you can transform the nature of an act by what you hope to accomplish after that. Ends do not justify means.

As I thought these were salient points, I brought them up for discussion within the framework of class. In this framework, I think people who are anarchists (well, all people actually) have an obligation not to take jobs which give us positions of power and wealth, because the good we may be able to do in such positions does not atone for the support we end up giving an oppressive society, nor can it outweigh the pain and oppression we are complicit with and inflict on those worse off than us in the system through our position. To me, this belief seems to unite class struggle and lifestyle. No one else thought that way.

The rest of the workshop, which I eventually walked out of, was an attack on this belief and a defense of work in general and hierarchical bourgeois jobs in particular.

People spoke of the wonders of getting a haircut and dressing nice in order to make an impression upon others and get in good with the boss — presumably to subvert the system at some later date. People defended working for corporations or other shit places in order to gain money, power and influence to aid the revolution. I simply could not believe I was hearing this, especially in a workshop on class struggle.

As Makhno said, "Always with the oppressed against the oppressors." As Sartre points out "You are your life", and you better make damn sure that what you do is clear and understandable. If you look and act like an exploiter, you will be judged as an exploiter.

An anarchist is an anarchist by his/her behavior and ethics, and included in that is the principle of noncoercion, non-oppression. It's no more justifiable to oppress people to fund revolution than it is

Finally a big thank-you to everyone who made the conference productive. I've dwelt mostly on the negative because I think criticism more relevant than kudos but that in no way diminishes or detracts from the good things accomplished and the good people at the gathering.

Last but not least, a comment on the newspaper itself. I met a number of people at the gathering who are absolutely disgusted with Love & Rage, and after reading the latest issue I can understand why. Some of you are so touchy it's pathetic.

Why is it OK to offend 90% of the world's population by preaching anarchism through the paper but wrong to "offend" people through completely natural displays of affection? There's some serious double-standards going on here.

We are all offended by various things, but unless what we are offended by is shown to cause concrete harm, that is not actionable. And if the reason we are offended is not even rational, then we should shut up entirely. A loose shoulder strap "offensive"? Perhaps those who find sex by nature demeaning should stop pestering others and work out their own guilt at having been born through sexual reproduction. Perhaps the person who finds shoulder skin inherently degrading should go flay herself/himself.

(The new issue of *IMPULSE* (#8), a Wisconsin Anarchist Journal of which Jon is the editor, is now available for 1 or 2 bucks and a stamp (whatever you can afford). Included in the zine is the newest installment of *Goof Liberation Front Notes*. Get it c/o Jon George, Route 1, Red Wing, MN 55066.)



rates until by the end there was a scant dozen of us huddled in the dark on the wet grass (achoo!), some of whom aren't even AYF — thanks Dan and Hush for your help.

Because of the nonrepresentational nature of the AYF meetings, we couldn't accomplish anything except to submit several appeals to the AYF disco bull. At times, you feel like saying "fuck the other groups, if they didn't show up,



WHAT IS AYF?

The Anarchist Youth Federation is an international network of autonomous anarchist youth groups dedicated to totally fucking up this system, until it dies a horrible death (and we all live happily ever after).

WHAT IS THE AYF PAGE?

The AYF page is a new, monthly feature bringing a much needed youth perspective to Love and Rage. We are also funny and sexy. All correspondence for this page should be sent to:

NY-AYF PO Box 365 Canal St Station,
NYC 10013-0365

The AYF has tons of groups all over the universe. Due to the fact that we are making so much news at the moment, a complete listing could not be fit onto this page. For a listing of affiliate groups, and basic AYF info, send a stamp to the New York address.

THE RED ARMY FRACTION, Germany's oldest revolutionary armed clandestine organization, has been, for the past 22 years, "shaking the imperialist system." In their most recent communique, the RAF takes a retrospective and introspective look at its history, political theory and practice in light of the changed world situation and the rise of the new world order. Their aim is to foster discussion and debate around armed resistance to imperialism and capitalism.

In this communique, for the first time in a long time, the RAF takes itself to task. It questions and debates both its role in the fight against imperialism and the merits of its guerrilla actions as a means of attacking and overcoming imperialism. Most importantly, the RAF has decided to stop its attacks while this debate and discussion goes on. What follows is a brief overview of the history and politics of the RAF.

The RAF emerged in 1970, out of the anti-Vietnam War student movement. After a brief period of consolidating itself as an organization it began attacks in support of the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle, bombing targets associated with US imperialism's and fascist West Germany's complicity in the Vietnam War.

In May of 1972 the RAF attacked a whole series of targets — Army bases, police headquarters, the right-wing press, and more. In a communique accompanying the May 12, 1972 bombing of a police headquarters, the RAF summed up their duties as "the steady development of the revolutionary guerrilla movement, the long and protracted process of the struggle for liberation from fascism, capitalism, capitalist exploitation and suppression of the people." In a document entitled "Concept of the Urban Guerrilla," the RAF stressed its link with liberation struggles in the three continents (Africa, Asia, and Latin America), putting forward the strategy of "fighting from the inside": waging the struggle from the metropolises, the homelands of imperialism, in support of these liberation struggles.

By 1975, most of the RAF's founders were either in jail or dead. In spite of intense repression, the RAF continued to maintain its revolutionary offensive. A 1974 hunger strike by RAF prisoners culminated in the murder by the state of Holger Meins, a RAF founder. Consequently, a commando from the June 2nd Movement, a more anarchist guerrilla grouping, shot and killed the President of the West Berlin Supreme Court. Also, the Holger Meins Commando of the RAF occupied the West German embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, in an unsuccessful attempt to gain freedom for their imprisoned comrades, most of whom were standing trial at the Stammheim prison.

From the start there was criticism of the RAF and its actions. For example, the editors of the *British Anarchy* took the

ing of the West German consulate in Nice, France and the bombing of the US Armed Forces Radio station in Frankfurt, Germany.

Then in September, 1977, as the Stammheim trial continued, the RAF kidnapped the Daimler-Benz Chief Executive Martin Schleyer, a former SS officer. The RAF demanded the release of its imprisoned comrades in exchange for Schleyer and the state refused. Consequently, Palestinian comrades hijacked a Boeing 737 and reiterated the demands of the RAF. The elite anti-terrorist German GSG 9 squad stormed the plane, freeing the passengers and killing some of the hijackers. The German state then murdered three RAF members in their cells at Stammheim. Martin Schleyer was later found, executed by the RAF.

Between 1977 and 1979 the RAF was somewhat less active. Their base of support fell away. In the eyes of many, the RAF had become essentially a "free the guerrilla organization" — all of its actions seemed to be aimed only at liberating its prisoners and it appeared to be engaged primarily in a private war with the state. Further, the main original political motivation of the RAF — the Vietnam War — was over.

By 1979 the RAF emerged with a new orientation — US imperialism's and NATO's plans to turn Europe, and Germany in particular, into one huge NATO installation complete with nuclear weapons. A new base of support was sought among the growing anti-nuclear and militant peace movements in Germany in order to build an anti-imperialist movement that could effectively combat NATO's plans to use Germany as the "take-off" point for its wars against the Third World, all under the slogan: "War on Imperialist War."

Also in 1980, the June 2 Movement announced that it was disbanding and joining the RAF, stating that its notion of "spontaneous proletarian politics" had produced division among the guerrilla movement. In a communique they argued that "It can never be the job of the guerrilla to please the population to get their applause, but the job of the guerrilla is to become the front line."

The RAF's new offensive started with their unsuccessful attempt on Alexander Haig, at the time a NATO General. It continued through into 1981 with a failed rocket grenade attack on NATO Commander US General Kroesen and a bomb attack on the US Air Force/NATO headquarters at Ramstein. In a communique accompanying the Ramstein action, the RAF stated that they targeted it because it was the base for nuclear war in Europe, and the starting base for war in the Third World.

In 1981, the Revolutionary Cells (an autonomous guerrilla structure, in existence since 1973) issued a long paper in which they castigated the RAF, taking them to task for their abstractness. The RZ put forward their ideas of a "popular" guerrilla, arguing for a guerrilla force "of

RAF criticized its earlier vanguardist ideas, and called for anti-imperialist struggle alongside others, rather than the RAF being at the forefront of the struggle. While in 1982 and 1983 the RAF was operationally quiet, in 1984 the RAF came alive.

On December 4, 1984, RAF prisoners began a collective hunger strike which called for the unity of all political prisoners and which again called for a united front against imperialism. This hunger strike mobilized, and was accompanied by, a large number of attacks and actions by anti-imperialist groups, including Belgium's Communist Fighting Cells, the Revolutionary Cells, and France's anti-imperialist Action Directe. These actions were not just carried out in solidarity with the strike, but with the prisoners, as part of the over-all offensive against NATO and imperialism.

On January 15, 1985 in a joint commu-

to isolation and torture, and for the regroupment of political prisoners.

July of 1990 saw Hans Neusel, state secretary in the Interior Ministry and the government's leading "terrorism" expert survive a RAF attack. In the accompanying communique the RAF appeared to have taken some of the criticisms directed at it to heart; it acknowledged the need for resistance to come from within grassroots movements, and called for the building up of a "counter-power from below" which would be made up of a diversity of struggles, including, for example, the squatters movement.

During the Gulf War, the RAF machine-gunned the American embassy in Bonn in response to the devastation in Iraq being US/UN forces. The accompanying communique called for, among other things, solidarity with the struggle of the political prisoners in the isolation units in the US. In 1991,

Redefining the RAF

nique, the RAF and Action Directe announced the formation of what they termed "the international organization of proletarian struggle in the metropolises, with its politico-military core: the West European guerrilla." Ten days later Action Directe executed French General Audran, stating in a communique that he had "been central to the strategic imperialist project of homogenizing the European states under NATO's control." Then on February 1, 1985, the RAF executed Audran's German counterpart, Ernst Zimmerman.

In August, the George Jackson Commando of the RAF/AD attacked the Rhein-Mein Air Base due to its role as "a centre for war against the Third World." In order to gain access to the airbase, the RAF executed an American GI, and used his ID card to get them in. This caused fierce debate among the German left, and further served to alienate the RAF from some of its base of support. As one autonomist put it: "Any military line of action is wrong when it proceeds in isolation from what is being fought against. If I fight against something, then I must also have a line to those who are the victims of what I am fighting against. This is not at all the case with the RAF. With the Revolutionary Cells it is different; they make sure that their actions convey a message."

In July of 1986 the RAF assassinated the German industrialist Karl-Heinz Bekurts who was involved with SDI research, and in October of 1986 high-ranking Foreign Officer Gerald von Braunmühl was executed, "one of the central figures in the formation of the West European policy in the overall system of imperialism."

1988 saw the RAF issue a joint communique with a fraction of Italy's now-defunct Red Brigades — the BR-PCC (Red Brigades-Fighting Communist Party). In it the unity of the revolutionary movement was called for, in the face of unification in Europe, and it was argued that "the attack of the West European front against the strategic projects for the political, economic, and military formation of West Europe aims at weakening the imperialist system, at causing a thorough political crisis." In September of '88 the RAF carried out an unsuccessful attack on the German Secretary of State for the Minister of Finance, Hans Tietmeyer, and in November of 1989 they were successful in executing one of the world's most powerful financiers, Alfred Herrhausen. In 1989 the RAF carried out yet another unsuccessful hunger strike which called for an end

they assassinated the head of the company responsible for the reconstructing of East Germany along capitalist lines, Detlev Rohwedder, "one of the architects of the new Germany." In the communique around this action, the RAF argued the necessity of pushing through "the preconditions for a self-determined life with human dignity in the struggle against the reactionary great German and west European plans to exploit people here and in the Three Continents." Since then the RAF has been releasing communiques around various issues.

With this most recent communique, however, the RAF appears to be taking the criticism levelled at it throughout its history ever more seriously. A reading of the communique makes it clear that the RAF is shedding its vanguardist ideas, and is taking into account other struggles and contradictions, i.e. racism and sexism. They now see various struggles such as the squatting and anti-fascist movements, the struggle by refugees and immigrants against racist asylum policies, the fight by social prisoners against isolation, as all being integral to the building of a counter-power from below.

It is unclear what role the RAF will play within this "counter-power." Whether or not the RAF continues to carry out actions on a lower-level as a "popular guerrilla," as the Revolutionary Cells mentioned above, or whether they will cease to exist, remains to be seen. This decision by the RAF to break with its past history and practice has precipitated massive discussion and debate within the German autonomous left. Many are discussing the role of the armed resistance — how and in what context. The building of a revolutionary movement requires that these questions be discussed not only in Germany and in other parts of the world but also here in North America.

For the full text of this communique, or of any of the communiques mentioned, and for information about armed struggle, political prisoners, and militant resistance in Germany, North America, and the rest of the world, write to:

Arm The Spirit (c/o Wild Seed Press)
PO Box 57584, (LaToya) Jackson Sta.
Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3 CANADA

[The decision to run only excerpts from the communique was made by Love and Rage. Arm The Spirit believes that communiques should only be printed in full. Excerpts are printed here due to space considerations.]

"...the RAF appears to be taking the criticism leveled at it throughout its history ever more seriously...the RAF is shedding its vanguardist ideas..."

RAF to task rightly. They argued that "the armed resistance of the RAF is both centralized and spectacular, and this has two very negative effects: their actions don't relate to people's everyday experience and the majority of people look at their struggle with the police as some kind of private feud in which they have no part." Further, they argued that the RAF, by refusing to combine legal and illegal work, and by carrying out actions which were supplementary rather than integral to the struggle, had effectively cut themselves off from comrades who were willing to help them. They had isolated themselves from the masses. They were preaching a political elitism and avant-gardism that separated them "from the many types of direct action that are carried out at the grass-roots level."

In 1976, Ulrike Meinhof, another founder of the RAF, was murdered by the state. This led to demonstrations throughout Europe, including the bomb-

which the activities are understood, which enjoys the sympathy of the people, and with a perspective on broad support." Importantly, the RZ criticized the RAF for not acknowledging that in addition to the class struggle between proletarians and capitalists, there are also other contradictions which must be solved; for example "the women's movement and over-exploitation and sexist suppression of women, the ecological movement and the destruction of environmental conditions by industrial technology." These are all criticisms which the RAF appears to be, since 1989, addressing more seriously, as the April '92 communique points out.

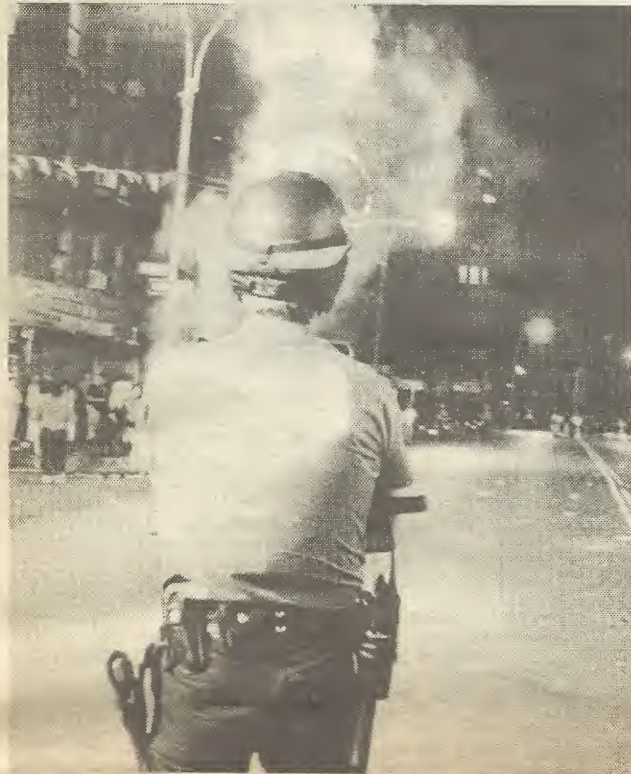
1982 saw the RAF author an important document entitled "Guerrilla, Resistance and Anti-Imperialist Front" which called for a united anti-imperialist front against NATO imperialism. In it the RAF essentially recognized and realized that they had made serious tactical and political mistakes in 1977. Essentially, the

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS: KEEP THE FIGHTING SPIRIT IN OUR COMMUNITIES

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

THE REBELLION OF THE RESIDENTS of Washington Heights, in upper Manhattan, NY, is not disconnected from the daily reality in North America. Here millions of oppressed minorities face the worst treatment and degradation, under a hated system of exploitation and repression.

The Dominicans, and other Latino Americans and African Americans of Washington Heights, revealed themselves to be, as the residents of South Central LA, against the racism of this rotten society and against the brutal political repression which sustains it.



The uprising began with the murder by gunfire of young Dominican José "Kiko" García on July 3 by officer Michael O'Keefe of the 34th Precinct. O'Keefe, a member of Local Motion (a paramilitary gang of cops) attacked García. He began to hit García first with his radio and then his nightstick along 162nd St. until taking him kneeling into

the lobby of 505 W. 162nd between St. Nicholas and Broadway, where O'Keefe killed García with a point-blank shot to the back and another to the abdomen.

According to residents of the building who heard and witnessed the incident, José García pleaded for his life while the cop beat him. O'Keefe, as part of Local Motion, extorts money from undocumented residents, from street salespeople, and taxi drivers, and steals drugs and money from small-time drug dealers in the area, according to Washington Heights residents.

The death of Kiko provoked the anger

and indignation of the residents of Upper Manhattan. They took to the streets in protest on Monday, July 6, three days after García's death. The protestors confronted the cops, causing several injuries to the beasts of the 34th, cutting one's head with a bottle. They also left two buildings in flames, five cars on fire, and several patrol cars and paddy wagons with broken windows.

From the roofs of buildings came an intermittent rain of bottles against the police occupation. Thousands of cops were sent to the rebel zone, which covered an area of 30 square blocks, and they immediately reacted violently to the protests. Helicopters flew over the neighborhood, lighting the rooftops with huge searchlights, producing dozens of arrests.

The cops then stormed into buildings, illegally breaking down doors. This brutality produced a second victim: Dagoberto Pichardo, 29 years of age, also of Dominican origin. The suspicious death of Dagoberto involved Lieutenant Parrino and Officer James Gilmore who, according to witness Daniel Pascual,

"threw" Dagoberto from the roof of the six-floor building located on Audubon Avenue, where the victim lived with his family. Officer Gilmore is one of the cops of the 34th suspected of corruption in a recent investigation.

The initial version of the police story was that Pichardo "jumped" from the building into the air. A second version released 24 hours later by the Vice Police Commissioner (and quite possibly the next NYC Police Chief) Raymond Kelly said that Dagoberto Pichardo "fell from the roof." The coroner has still not determined whether the death was assassination, accident, or suicide.

THE REBELLION HEATS UP

The death of Dagoberto Pichardo only threw wood on the fire. The community of Upper Manhattan reacted forcefully to the new police provocation, maintaining control of the streets and repelling the occupation troops.

A large demonstration took place the 7th of July at noon, which counted the participation of more than 2000 residents of the area who marched to the 34th Precinct demanding the right to live, and the right to march freely in their own neighborhoods.

That night, Dominican city council member Guillermo Linares, along with other politicians and religious leaders, tried to calm the rebellion by calling a vigil.

Around 200 young people abandoned the vigil and marched in a demonstration that grew along the way to the George Washington Bridge, closing the station there. Later they attacked a Citibank and a BPD International Bank Building.

THE ORIGINS

The assassination of José García and of Dagoberto Pichardo are not isolated incidents. In New York City alone 15 people were assassinated by cops in 1979, 10 in 1980, 37 in 1981, 18 in 1982, 29 in 1983, 15 in 1988, 45 in 1989, and 14 in 1990. The

majority of them were African American or Latino American.

Almost one million Dominicans live in New York City. According to the last census carried out by Northern Manhattan (a corporation which studies the development of Washington Heights), more than 350,000 people live in the area, 65% of whom are Dominican.

In 1980 close to 100,000 of those people were considered "poor." The children of that area constitute 36.7% of all minors in the city waiting for subsidies to enter childcare. Four out of every five elderly people are women.

It is the district with the largest number of immigrants. It is the poorest district with respect to living conditions, with the largest percentage of poor people renting private apartments. Of all of the districts in the city, it is the one with fewest government buildings or projects, with only 8,093 public housing units. Unemployment, drugs, insane employment conditions, and salaries below minimum wage are all links in the chain of oppression of which the residents in the area are victims. Police brutality and persecution by the Immigration and Naturalization Service have brought about anti-authoritarian views.

THE MANIPULATORS - THE GOOD FACE OF OPPRESSION

All kinds of politicians and religious leaders have filed through (and defiled) the neighborhood. Mayor Dinkins, Councilmember Linares, and the anti-condom Cardinal himself (O'Connor) have called for "peace," for an end to the "violence" and for reestablishing "order."

The cops continue with impunity to be occupation troops in the area, abusing and mistreating residents even though their presence is reduced. The old people give thanks that the revolt has ended. The young García was transported to the Dominican Republic, where he was buried; Dagoberto was buried here in New York, but there is a spirit of struggle in the air that the oppressors will never bury with bullets or promises. ★

Excerpts from the RAF Communique

TO ALL THOSE SEARCHING FOR AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF HOW A HUMANE EXISTENCE, BOTH HERE AND WORLD-WIDE, CAN BE ORGANIZED CONCRETELY AND BROUGHT ABOUT:

We are also searching.

There are thousands of problems on the table, crying out for solutions, and if they aren't soon taken up and resolved, then all of humanity will find itself in a catastrophe.

These have all come about as a result of the capitalist principle that profit and power are what matter, while people and nature are secondary.

We, the RAF, have, since '89, begun thinking harder about these things and discussing how we, as with everyone else with a history in the German resistance, can no longer go on as before. We have decided that we need to find new political destinations which can lead to day-to-day changes in people's lives here and now and which surpass the ruling powers' cold grip over life's reality. For this, it's necessary to take a look at the common history of everyone in the resistance, to think about what we did right and what we did wrong, and what meaning all of this has for the future. Our starting points for this were:

1. The simple fact that we now find ourselves in a totally changed global political situation: the dismantling of state socialist systems and the end of the cold war...

2. We were ourselves confronted with the fact that we, in the years before '89, developed a politic which became politically weaker instead of stronger...We could no longer offer the relevance to people here which is needed to make a common struggle possible...

We had severely limited our politics to attacks on the strategists of imperialism and had failed to search for immediate positive goals and for how a social alternative could begin and exist here and now...

Our relationship to those people we had the most to do with was primarily one of carrying out a common attack. So there was little opportunity to develop and live together with others in our own social setting on a day-to-day basis. Only in this way could we really have arrived at a common politics...

The consequences of this for us were two years of a parallel process of reorientation and practical intervention...

After these past two years, it has become clear to us that we can't create any real space in this way, so our major concerns right now and for the time being are as follows:

The long-needed common discussion of building ties between different groups and people; because no matter where they live, no matter what their day-to-day situation is in this society, there remains the great necessity for people to take matters into their own hands and to search together for solutions.

...As long as there is no such social alternative to the collapse and despair of

this system, more and more people will drift along with any perspective...

Deadly actions from us against the pillars of State and Economy can't advance this necessary process, because they escalate the situation for us and for everyone searching for answers...

WE HAVE DECIDED TO HALT THE ESCALATION FROM OUR SIDE. THAT MEANS, STOPPING ATTACKS ON THE LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ECONOMY AND THE STATE DURING THIS NECESSARY PROCESS.

This process of discussions and the creation of a counter-power from below is, we feel, closely tied to the struggle for the freedom of the political prisoners.

After 20 years of the torture and destruction of the prisoners, it is necessary to demand their right to life — and to demand their freedom!...

THOSE PRISONERS UNFIT FOR DETENTION AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN HELD THE LONGEST MUST BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY, AND ALL OTHERS MUST BE REGROUPED UNTIL THEY ARE RELEASED...

We have, by backing down from the escalation on our side, created a possibility for more space for political solutions.

Now the ball is in the State's court. And because no one knows how they will react, we need to support a process of discussion and building.

If they decide to roll over everyone involved in this process with more repression and destruction...then the phase of de-escalation will be over — we won't sit by as spectators and do nothing.

If they don't let us, that is, everyone struggling for a humane society, live, then they must know that we won't let their elite live either.

Even though it's not in our best interest: war can only be answered with war.

Red Army Fraction
10.4.1992

Spanish Synopsis

Pg. 2 — Anarchist Black Cross — The international campaign to gain the release of anarchist prisoner Andres Villaverde, currently being held in Peru's Castro-Castro prison.

A campaign initiated by Chilean anarchists to gain the release of Jorge Saavedra Sanhueza, a prisoner with AIDS.

Letter from Jose Rodriguez protesting the conditions in New York State prisons (ie forced labor and a lack of medical attention) and offering a legal aid contact.

See summary in the English ABC section for more details.

Pg. 3 — Mumia Abul Jamal Faces Execution — By Rick Van Savage. Translation of the English cover story and sidebar.

Pg. 4 — Washington Heights by Gustavo Rodriguez. See the English translation on pg. 13.

— Anarquistas en la Convención — by Matt Black. See pg. 9 of the English

Pg. 5 — 500 Años de Resistencia Queer — by Lin Eliot. Part one of Lin's 500 Queers of Resistance. The entire article appeared in English in the June 1992 Broadsheet edition of L&R (Vol.3, No.5)



POETRY



London:
for Roland (whom I met in the Laundrette)
Tommy Lawless

After our Earl Grey milkandsugared tea
and hellokisses, you noticed the letter
and ripped it open. Watching your face
as you read,
I felt your life changing, our lives changing,
and was quiet. You muttering quietly "Die
Polizei...meine Mutter."
frantic dialing, loud German, not letting me in
—The Phone Call.
Click.
Then flying chairs, leather jacket, boots, I
cowering in the corner. And finally,
"I have to go back. They're harassing my
mother about me."

When the shouting died away into unbelieving
we sat in your room, unmoving,
on hardbacked wooden chairs:
Inbetween us, your large wooden trunk
strewn with empty Barcardi bottles
coke cans overflowing
with butts and ashes
a German/English dictionary
A Kümerly & Frey map of the U.K.

A Dunhill Kingsize burned between your
fingers,
and a Marlboro Light between mine.
The smoke danced in the silence
as we, content to let hot ashes drop in our
laps or anywhere,
occasionally muttered

a breathy, bewildered "fuck"
an angry, "goddamn it!"
a sad, "shit."

But we couldn't even stand to listen to the
radio, much less talk.

Now your suitcases look so awkward stacked
in the corner
and I bite my lip till it bleeds.
I don't want to let you drive back
into that blizzard of die Verhöre
for a time too long to contemplate.
Just when we were planning a quiet
Christmas:
roaring pine fires in a northern Scotland
castle.
Just when we were sharing a month of
everyday happiness:
backrubs, favorite authors and good Chinese
restaurants.

I try to wash the thoughts out of my head
with shampoo and hot water, but fail.
And now I don't want to stay
on this fucking cold little island without the
warmth
of your wool-sweatered arms around me.
But I can't go all the way back to California,
yet.
At least you gave me the grey felt hat you
used to wear feathers on
and promised to send me your blond pony-tail
if they cut your hair.
I wonder what I'll do for Christmas now.

Smash
D.L. Nevin

My mind is lost in the
forest of arguments
we turn away from each other
with a shattering sigh of awakening
I tear my watch from my wrist
and smash it to pieces with a rock
then spin around and embrace eternity
killing my money problems
in one easy payment...

To Carmelo and Maria
Kathy Manley

El ejercito de Vieques
buzzed and swarmed and the Navy left.
Left Monte Carmelo in 1989
and haven't yet come back.

Maria and Carmelo moved there in 1976,
three years after they married.
Way up a steep, rutted dirt road,
our van lurching and bouncing, sometimes
sliding...
Maria says she likes it that way,
a little more fortified—
since there's a war on.

The Navy claims the land.
From the top you can see almost
all the way around the island,
breathtaking beauty of green hills and blue
sea,
three quarters of it enemy territory.

Thunder in clear sky, nearly every day—
bombing, bombing, bombing—
till the very geography is altered.
The terrain of the human spirit
is also susceptible to these big guns.

Many give in, but know they're giving in,
feel the surrender in their hearts,
one more burden weighing them down.
Others actually believe the Navy is there
to protect them from the forces of evil,
that they are truly welcome into the center
of the American Dream.
They gladly give up their land, their
sovereignty,
sheltered in the benevolent arms of the
Empire.

There are those who don't see it that way,
who see yet another invader, yet more
pirates.
Who see the concept of eminent domain
very clearly.
Their homeland has been taken
and there is nothing they can do about it,
short of a miracle—
they must be crazy.
But maybe they believe in miracles,
maybe they believe in crazy.

The kind of crazy that made you stand your
ground
even though you're dirt poor
and the Navy offered a brand new house
and forty thousand dollars—
if only you'd leave your mountain...

Even though they put up eviction notices
and came with trucks and marshalls and
threats.

The people came to support you,
the other crazy ones;
they surrounded the trucks...
and opened up the beehives.

El ejercito de Vieques
buzzed and swarmed and the Navy left.
Left Monte Carmelo in 1989
and haven't yet come back.

After Fidel?
Jay Marvin

slave in hot, tropical heat
driven by the whip of indoctrination
every pore in our bodies a
fountain of sweat and oppression
every drop fuel for anger against
a system that
does not, or will not, work.

wondering if there will be more
to life after fidel's fall than
a burger king franchise owned
by soft hands in miami

and operated by callous hands
in havana having now switched
one boss for another.

why he loved her
Pamela Harcourt

for her natural affinity towards
the purples and indigos of the
fantastick where the sexes are
amorphous and she can be so much more
he peeled layer after layer of
her until she bled to death—
purple and indigo stains
on every remaining need he had.

Each of Two Axes
Nathan Whiting

They cut me, red spiderwebs.
Anne, Tell her. Breaths
by little gasps. I never gave.
I was busy, next week. Anne.
If I could say, what, love?
Ow. Anne we did argue, had to
stay apart sometimes. Too long?
I don't know you. Know me.

Oh God what a mess. Hey fellow
relax your hand, lets see the wound.
Okay, I'm going to bandage it. You've
lost a lot of blood. We'll take you
to Coney Island Hospital. Lift him.
Careful, you'll tear the tissue.

So he got himself stabbed. His stupid
temper, never thinks, just acts. Now
he needs me, full of love-you-Annes.
There's no one inside him but him, his
little show, fun, promises. Too close,
splits. He has no wants, just needs.
I never go for the I-want types, so I got
him. Does he think another I-am-man
display helps? Man he's vanished
two weeks. Suddenly red drip drip in,
drip drip I love yous come out. Maybe
somebody else is in that blood. No concern
for his mother. He should care for her.
Me? Like I'm all he's got? I'm here, then
what? I say good bye, no more. Now,
well I'm sorry you're hurt, but. But
if he was always around.

False Alert
Phillip Hughes

This is not an emergency poem.
Were it pressing, bold, and real,
you would not be seated still
bemused by words as words
but out of your seat and into the street
crying "Truth and beauty! Where?"
"Intimations of mortality!"
"The center can not hold!"
"Human voices wake us and we drown!"
And more. Much more.
And then they would come with paper nets
and stapling guns, and editor nuns
would rap your knuckles smartly,
smarter than to cry aloud
and public issues stir on up
that cloisters, classrooms, carrels
once allowed
but not in the open air,
on the practical vernacular,
or nine-to-five, in pulsing human flesh,
now.

This has been an alert,
a testing of the system
preserved in schools and arts,
and now its over and done
once more.
Settle back.
Retake your seat.
Resume the muse of nine-to-five:
"Clear entry." "Compose character."
"Maintain proper format."
Shhhh.

"ART MATTERS LITTLE TO US. WE PROFOUNDLY HOPE THAT

REVOLUTION

WARS, AND COLONIAL INSURRECTION WILL ANNIHILATE THIS WESTERN CIVILIZATION WHOSE VERMIN
YOU DEFEND EVEN IN THE ORIENT ... WE ASSERT THAT WE HAVE FOUND TREASON
AND WHATEVER CAN HARM THE SECURITY OF THE STATE MORE RECONCILABLE WITH

POETRY

THAN THE SALE OF LARGE QUANTITIES OF LARD TO A NATION OF PIGS AND DOGS."

Surrealists, 1925

OGB

on gogol boulevard

EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT ANARCHY IN CIS (Part 2)

ON THE 19TH AND 20TH OF OCTOBER THE 3RD congress of Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) took place in Piter (St. Petersburg). Resolutions were adopted: on the relation towards the new regime; on national conflicts; on anti-militarism, etc.

The main purpose of the Congress, aside from this was that everyone met each other and hung out. Representatives from 14 cities and from 18 organizations took part in the Congress. (ADA is comprised of 1000-2000 people.) In accordance with a resolution taken at the second Congress of ADA, which took place in May of this year, a survey was conducted, the goal of which was to find out what is representative of anarchists in the Union.

At the same time in Moscow a conference of left groups from the provinces was held with the goal of forming a left information center. Populists from Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Piter and Gomel, representatives of the anarcho-communists in Ufa and the Moscow Organization of IREAN (the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists) anarcho-syndicalists from the Moscow and Samara organizations of KAS (the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists) as well as several Trotskyist and Marxist (non CP) groups took part in the conference. The conference ended with a procession through the center of Moscow across Red Square to the Moscow Soviet (city govt.) and ended there with a street demo.

On the 2nd-3rd of November the 5th conference of KAS was held. At the conference there was an attempt to form an anarchist party and transfer the federal Soviet and Secretariat of KAS from Moscow to Piter, with the only information to be published by *AN Press* and *KAS-Kontakt*. Not one of the higher transfer motions came about. A number of resolutions were also taken. Representatives from 9 cities were present at the conference. (In KAS at present, according to KAS members themselves, there are from 150 to 250 people, and in the Moscow organization, previously the main one, there are now 13 people.

On November 3rd in Piter an initiative group was formed with representatives of the Moscow and Piter organizations of IREAN, and the Piter and Dnepropetrovsky organizations of the Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary Union (AKRS) joined for the calling for an anarcho-communist conference, the purpose of which will be to unite all of the country's anarcho-communists and to try to form a number of anarcho-communist communes. The conference is planned for Jan. 20, 1992.

On November 7th in Moscow an anarchist group, the Union of Anarcho-Universalists (UAU), was formed. Part of the Moscow Union of Anarchists and part of the AYF (Anarchist Youth Front) broke away and went into this group. The new organization numbers 8 people.

On November 16th a meeting was held with representatives of KAS, IREAN, AYF, UAU, anarcho-populists and the Committee for Cultural Revolution (a new Moscow group of counter culture anarchists). A decision was made to have an open informational and coordinating meeting every Satur-

day with representatives of all the anarchist organizations in Moscow. Naturally representatives of the Moscow Union of Anarchists (MUA) and Radical Anarchist Youth Front (AROM) didn't come to that meeting and apparently they won't be participating in the Saturday meetings.

Representatives of the Polish Anarchist Federation came to Moscow and Piter and made a proposal to KAS members about forming an East European anarchist federation. An international conference for this will apparently be held in the summer of 1992 in Gulyai-Polye in Ukraine.

Now a little about our organization. Since Sept. we've put out the second issue of our paper "Black Star" and following in the "Orange Tradition" the bulletin "IREAN Inform." (Orange is in reference to the tradition begun by Poland's Orange Alternative who staged "Socialist Surrealist" happenings making fun of the government.)

On October 16th a picket on Pushkin Square next to McDonald's was held, organized by IREAN. We called for the boycott of said establishment. Asides from IREAN, KAS, Shock Anarchist Battalion (UAB), the Social-Ecological Union, the League of Green Parties, Keepers of the Rainbow, the Orange Movement and the Borovoi Society participated. Numerous demands of an ecological and political nature were presented.

On Oct. 17th, IREAN, together with representatives of KAS, UAB, Democratic Union (DU) and non-aligned anarchists held a picket across from the Moscow Soviet in support of hunger striking anarchists and their demands to free the prisoners Rodionov and Kuznetsov [anarchists who are now free after an international campaign]. The picket ended with a procession along the central street in Moscow towards the White House where the strikers' camp was located. There was another demo with the strikers next to the White House. Also we constantly participated in ADA's picket of the court.

On the 7th of Nov. (Oct. Revolution Day) about 30 people with the black and red flags, together with Trotskyist groups from the Socialist Worker's Union and the Committee for Workers Democracy, went from the metro station "1905 St." along Herzen St. and Tver St. to Red Square singing revolutionary songs. We arrived at Red Sq. an hour and a half earlier before 10,000 stalinist demonstrators from OFT, "Unity" and "Communist Initiative" and although the square had already been cordoned off by the militia, our small group with flags and a bullhorn managed to head off the crowd of thousands coming on the holiday to Red Sq. and with them broke through the barriers. Crossing Red Sq. to the Place of Execution [landmark on Red Sq. where people were executed under the Tsar] we had a half hour demo and a column of 500 people singing the "Internationale," "The Workers Marseillaise" and "The Warszawianka" (Polish Revolutionary song) as well as slogans "Down with Yeltsin," "Down with Popov," and "Long Live People's self-management."

We went around the Kremlin blocking the flow of traffic. We broke through the Red Sq. a second time, but by that time stalinist demonstrators arrived from the other side so we finished our holiday. Why did we decide to take to the streets that day?

For us it's a day of mourning, but at some time it's still a holiday like for everyone. One can see on this day not only the origin of "Soviet" power, but also the day when people joined together in order to overthrow the domination of the landowners and the government. Our mourning has also to do with the death of the ideas of self-management—we celebrated the anarchists and the common people in the 1917 coup. For us it's a day when the masses overthrew the bourgeois govt and in front of these masses in the vanguard of the fighting in Moscow and Piter, were the anarchists. Today we don't have any moral right to judge those who fought for direct democratic Soviets and workers' self-management of factories and plants. Their misfortune, and not their fault, was that they were small in number and couldn't withstand the substitution of soviets—of the Bolshevik dictatorship for that of workers' self-management—by the govt./bureaucratic apparatus. I'm devoting so much space to this question because the MUA, together with representatives from the Alliance of Kazan Anarchists (AKA), the AROM and the Irkutsk Anarchists put out a statement in which they judge us for our participation in Communist meetings. In this same statement they say that "the road through capitalism is the only road towards anarchism." It probably follows to note that at our

demo there was never a word praising old Lenin or other Bolshevik leaders, but on the other hand, at the demos of the very same MUA the leader of the chauvinist organization "Pamyat", Igor Sychev, always makes speeches and we never accuse Cheryakov [MUA] of participating in Fascist demos. We don't want to justify ourselves because we don't consider ourselves in the wrong.

On the 8th of November, on IREAN's initiative the 103rd anniversary of the birth of Makhno was celebrated. At 4p.m. a demo was started in Soviet Sq., across from the building of the Moscow Soviet. Representatives of KAS, AYF, UAU, anarcho-populists, DU, Peace and Freedom (Poland) and Trots took place,—in all from 40 to 50 people. After the demo all of the participants went to Red Sq., carrying black flags and singing anarchist songs. On the Place of Execution they held a repeat demo. The procession went further on to Alexander's Garden where a few words were said. The final destination for the demonstrators was the White House, battle ground of August 1991. The Moscow Soviet's paper *Curanti* [Chimes] decided to continue the tradition of the Communist press and decided to describe the anarchist holiday as if this had been going on all 74 years of Soviet power. From this we can conclude that the myth about anarchism is not to the advantage of either the CP nor the "democrats." The most interesting thing in the article was the description of the demo, which the *Curanti* correspondent had left five minutes after it started.

From the 15th to the 22nd of November there was a week of pickets under the slogans "Down with Ration Cards!", "Down with Price Increases!", and "No Privatization!". The picket was held in three places around Moscow: IREAN, UAU and KAS were across from the Moscow Soviet; near the "1905 St." metro station was the Committee for Worker's Democracy (Trots); and near some factory (it's not exactly sure where), was the Union of Socialist Workers (Trots).

On the 16th of November there was an anti-military demo organized by the Piter Grouping of Anarchists by Kazan cathedral in Piter. The Moscow and Piter organizations of IREAN took part, as well as the Piter section of the AYF, Contra-Initiatives of Marginal Anarchists, the Movement of Revolutionary Socialist-Anarchists (MRSA), the Kiev anarchists and the Nizhny-Novgorod anarchists. The demo ended with a procession along Nevsky Prospect. After the procession, its participants took part in an anti-military meeting. A decision was made there to boycott the autumn call-up to the army.

On November 21 in Moscow, by IREAN's initiative, but without it's participation, there was a parade in honor of the 160th anniversary of the rising of the black flag by the weavers of Lyon.

A little information about anarchist organization in Moscow: KAS has sections in 15 cities, numbers from 150 to 200 people, publishes the internal information bulletin *KAS-Kontakt* and a bulletin on the worker's movement *KAS-KOR*. It's Federal Soviet is located in Moscow. The next congress, unofficially, will emerge as a funeral. They carry out flyer campaigns, they take part in direct actions.

The MUA exists only in Moscow and Kazan. In October there was a split in the Moscow organization; a second split happened in November. In Moscow there are 3-4 people, 1-2 in Kazan. They publish the paper *Solidarity*, *The Voice of Anarchism* and the magazine *Road to Freedom*. They organize direct actions.

The AYF has sections in Moscow, Tver and Piter. In all these cities there are about 3 people each and about 50 sympathizers. After the unsuccessful attempt to occupy the Komsomol Museum [CP youth groups' building after the coup in Moscow] they haven't organized anything, but they do take part in direct actions.

AROM—an organization supporting MUA. According to them they have 50-60 people; people with the organization claim that they've never seen more than 5-7 people. Probably it exists only in Moscow. They take part in actions organized by MUA.

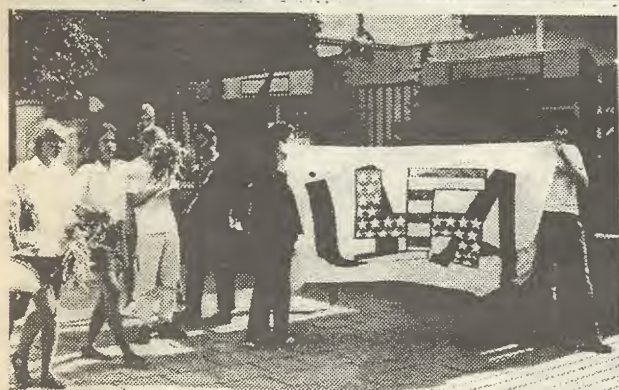
UAU—organized on November 7th, 1991. It has 8 people. It takes part in direct actions.

IREAN has sections in Moscow, Kiev and Sumi. The Moscow organization numbers 15 people. They put out the paper *Black Star* and they carry out a leaflet campaign. They organize direct actions.

The Struggle continues. With anarchist greetings!
Dmitry Kostenko, 105215 Moscow, ul. Parkovskaya 9-aya, dom 55 kv.60, Russia. Tel.:963-7861 for IREAN (Vadim Damier)

(This graphic is the nameplate of a Russian anarchist magazine called New World.)

Poles Demonstrate for US Political Prisoner Kenny Tolia



A number of NYC groups have gotten together to support imprisoned May Day 29 defendant and US political prisoner Kenny Tolia (doing one year on false charges of incitement to riot stemming from a NYC Tompkins Square Park May Day '90 concert where the pigs rushed the stage precipitating a riot). [See *Love and Rage*, Vol 3 No 4, April/May 1992.] The groups include Workers Solidarity Alliance; Neither East nor West; Unconventional Action; NY Anarchist Youth Federation; Love and Rage Production Group; and Autonomous Anarchist Action. We had a picket that "twinned" Kenny with two Russian anarchist punk political prisoners, Alexandr Kuznetsov and Aleksei Podinov, (the Russians were freed after an international campaign) a fundraising concert at local punk club ABC No Rio, and we mailed an international appeal for Kenny, in Russian and English, asking people to sign petitions we provided for his release and also to picket US embassies. Following is one account of a support action from our friends of the Polish Anarchist Federation and other groups. (For more info contact:

Free Kenny Committee c/o Neither East nor West
528 5th St. Brooklyn, NY 11215 USA)

Bob McGlynn

Hil

On June 2nd Warsaw anarchists organized a happening in support of Kenny Tolia. A group of about 60 persons gathered on Jzzech Krzyzy Square. A part of them were disguised - for example there were some people in stocks and chains and there was also an American soldier, a businessman and a Ku Klux Klan member who were pushing and beating the stocked



people. Demonstrators roared a melody of the American anthem and throwing petals [fireworks? Ed.] marched to the building of the USA embassy.

In front of the embassy they spread black flags and banners: "Kenny Tolia Must Be Free" and "We all are Blacks from Los Angeles." People were shouting: "Free Kenny Tolia" and "Today Los Angeles - tomorrow Warsaw." The demo at the embassy lasted about 15 minutes. During that time three cars with surprised policemen came, but there weren't enough of them to attack us.

After the demo part of the participants went to a nearby park. About 40 minutes after the end of the demonstration the park was invaded by police and an anti-terrorist brigade and 34 persons were brutally arrested and taken to a police station - among them some accidental persons, who hadn't taken part in the manifestation. The majority of arrested people were released after 2-3 hours, but four persons were kept 'till the next day. Probably a part of those who were arrested will be fined for "taking part in an illegal demonstration."

Piotr Rymarczyk

Russian Alternative Publication Now In English

The Third Way: Independent Green and Anarchist Journal, founded in the underground in 1988, has issued its first english edition May 1, 1992. Included are documents of green and anarchist groups, reports on how South Korea and Germany are offering to buy Russian nuclear plant waste (for arms? asks *Third Way*) that will give a boost to the continuance of Russian nuke power, and other items.

For a xerox copy send \$2 cash to *Neither East Nor West*, 528 5th St. Brooklyn, NY 11215, US. For the next english issue send \$3 cash (or \$10 for a years sub for the Russian edition) To: *Sergy Fomichov*, *Tereshkovoy* 28a/49, 606005 Dzerzhinsk, Russia.

Lithuania: The New Boss Is The Same As The Old Boss

(The following letter was originally printed in the winter edition of *Eidos* newspaper, a feminist erotica paper published by Brenda Loew Tatelbaum. *Eidos* is trying to make connections with the "east." \$10. will get you a sample : *Eidos* POB 96, Boston MA., 02137-0096, US)

Dear Brenda,

We received your letter and publication. Thank you very much. We acknowledge your materials-it was very interesting-and agree with your opinion. But our society is still not grown up to the ideas of sexual freedom. Our neo-bolshevik government even closed one newspaper (20 kapeiku) which published some photos of nudes - only nudes, not porno. Now the regime closes newspapers, which printed materials about agents of the KGB in the government.

At first we must fight for Democracy, for Free Speech and Press, We can not now struggle for Freedom of Sexual Expression, because the puritanical government - the owner of all the means of mass information (press, radio, TV) calls us "degenerates."

We are not afraid of that, but it would be weapon against us.

We do not know if this letter will reach you or not, because all letters, telegrams are controlled by security. Such is reality - no changes in independent Lithuania! And more - the reactionary regime now attacks all peaceful, democratic movements and wants to introduce dictatorship. We are in very difficult conditions. But we shall fight for democracy until victory!

Our best wishes! *Antanas Damasevicius/Social Movement Mutual Assistance, Nepriklausomybes a. 13-4, Kaunas 3000, Lithuania*

Corrections:

Once again some evil force is messing with our photos and captions. In *Love and Rage* April/May '91 the 2nd photo in "Anarchist Action in Poland" has the caption: "May 15 anarchist demo against capitalism in Prague." The caption should have read "Polish Anarchists occupying the Krakow offices of an investor in an ecologically damaging damn project." The former caption should have gone with the photo accompanying the article on Czechoslovakia Last but not least is the photo accompanying the CIS article, the caption noting that the person at left is the article's author. We have photos of the real Dmitry Kostenko - the smiling woman ain't him!

AÑO 3 NUMERO 6

SECTION IN ENGLISH

JULIO/AGOSTO 1992 \$1

AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

¡Libertad Inmediata Para
Andrés Villaverde!
&
Enfermo de SIDA Preso En Chile
(Pág. 2)

500 Años De Resistencia Queer
(Pág. 5)

Nueva York: Brutalidad Policial
Destata Rebelión Popular
(Pág. 4)

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Enfrenta Pena De Muerte

POR RICHARD VAN SAVAGE

**El Gobierno de Pennsyl-
vania contempla el asesi-
nato legal de Mumia
Abu-Jamal.**

¿Qué podemos hacer ?

EL PERIODISTA MUMIA ABU-Jamal está actualmente en la cárcel esperando sentencia de muerte. Mumia, ex-presidente de la Asociación de Periodistas Negros de Filadelfia, conducía su coche el nueve de diciembre de 1981 cuando vio a la policía golpeando a su hermano, quien había sido detenido por una pequeña infracción de tráfico (¿no les suena familiar?). Al acercarse a la escena, Mumia fue herido por un policía. En los instantes siguientes, un oficial fue herido de bala y más tarde murió. Testigos afirman que el asesino del policía se dio a la fuga mientras Mumia y su hermano esperaban la ambulancia. Tres días más tarde, Mumia fue acusado del asesinato del policía. Ni la información balística ni las huellas digitales sirvieron para encontrar una pistola o una bala que tuviera conexión alguna entre Mumia y el homicidio.

Durante el juicio, a Mumia se le negó el abogado que prefería. El fiscal asolamente aceptó a un afroamericano en el jurado. Mantuvieron en secreto evidencias, testimonios de testigos y hasta utilizaron artículos de su periódico como justificación para exigir la pena de muerte, en violación directa de la primera

(Continúa en la página 3)



Cruz Negra Anarquista

DENUNCIA DESDE CHILE

EL MOTIVO QUE TIENE ESTA correspondencia tiene un carácter muy especial y que les relatamos a ustedes por que sabemos de vuestra solidaridad.

CEPSS (Centro de Educación y Prevención en Salud Social y SIDA), en los poco más de dos años de labor en Educación, Comunicación, Prevención, Orientación Psicológica y Asistencia Social a personas que viven con el VIH (Virus de la Inmunodeficiencia Adquirida) y a enfermos de SIDA, ha atendido a innumerables personas portadoras del VIH; pues bien, una de estas personas es Jorge: un joven de 22 años de edad, quien junto a su esposa, Rosa y a su hijo de un año y meses, Jorgito, son portadores del VIH. Ellos son una familia que reside en Lota, con una vida que no ha sido fácil, por el contrario, la existencia para ellos ha sido muy dura.

De bajos recursos y escaso nivel educacional, Jorge ha debido recurrir a todo tipo de actividades para mantener a su familia, incluso el robo. Eso fué lo que un día a mediados del año pasado lo llevó a apropiarse de una chaqueta que después vendería para alimentar a su bebé. Estuvo detenido un par de días y luego dejado en libertad hasta que en febrero de este año, tras ser sometido a una rueda de reconocimiento policial, retornó al presidio acusado de robo con fuerza.

Hoy en día la situación se vuelve insostenible debido a que las autoridades

públicas, de justicia y salud de nuestro país han violado reiteradamente algunos derechos básicos fundamentales de las personas que viven con el VIH relacionados con las condiciones básicas de vida para una persona en su estado: en anonimato, aislamiento, en fin cuestiones que estan permitiendo el aceleramiento del deterioro físico y psicológico de Jorge.

Por este motivo es que nos hemos unido con otros grupos amantes de la vida, como El Koletivo Kultural Mano Negra, El teatro Urbano Experimental de Concepción, por nombrar algunos, para realizar una campaña de solidaridad con Jorge y de presión frente a las autoridades responsables. Esta Campaña consiste sustancialmente en:

- Recolección económica para Jorge y su familia.
- Cartas de presión dirigidas a las autoridades responsables.
- Acciones de Arte callejeras.
- Concierto de música (en Coronel).
- Recolección de firmas exigiendo la libertad de Jorge, queremos realizar una campaña de denuncia nacional e internacional de esta situación:

Rogamos enviar TELEGRAMAS de denuncia y repudio por el aislamiento, la falta de atención legal en el caso judicial, la ausencia de tratamiento a JORGE SAAVEDRA SANHUEZA, detenido en la Cárcel de Coronel, desde febrero de 1992.

Propuesta de Telex o carta para ser enviada:

EXIGIMOS LA LIBERTAD INMEDIATA, EL TERMINO DEL AISLAMIENTO, Y UNA POLITICA INTEGRAL DE TRATAMIENTO PARA JORGE SAAVEDRA SANHUEZA Y TODOS LOS CASOS DE VIH - SIDA

Escribir a:

Sr. Patricio Aylwin
Presidente de la República de Chile
Palacio de Gobierno
Santiago de Chile, Chile

Sr. Alcáide de Coronel
Cárcel de Coronel
Manuel Montt 925 - Coronel Chile

Dr. Jorge Cantillano
Director del Servicio de Salud
Concepción Arauco
Ohiggins 297
Concepción, Chile

Dr. Sergio Micco
Seremi de Salud
Caupolicán 518 Piso 5
Concepción, Chile

Rogamos enviar copias a:

CEPSS
Casilla 3440 Concepción Chile.
Telefax: 233298 y 223447.

Kolectivo Kultural Mano Negra
Heras 855
Concepción, Chile

SOLIDARIDAD CON EL PUEBLO DEL PERÚ

DESDE QUE LA DICTADURA DE Fujimori ejerce el poder en Perú, la represión y los asesinatos políticos se han recrudecido.

Según los casos documentados por Amnistía Internacional, entre el 28 de julio de 1990 y el 31 de marzo de 1992, aproximadamente 486 personas "desaparecieron" tras su detención y 169 fueron ejecutados extrajudicialmente. Desde Julio de 1990, la organización también a documentado decenas de casos de tortura, amenazas de muerte y atentados contra personas que trabajan en defensa de los derechos humanos.

ARRESTOS

Libertad para Andrés Villaverde!

En nuestra edición, Año 3, Número 4, correspondiente a Abril/Mayo 1992, publicamos la información general de la detención del compañero libertario Andrés Villaverde por parte de la Policía Nacional y su posterior traslado al penal de máxima seguridad del Perú Castro-Castro, después de haber sido interrogado por el DINCOTE (Organismo Con-

tra el Terrorismo) por una acción de sabotaje, al no encontrarse pruebas fué acusado de ser militante de "Sendero Luminoso."

Nuestro compañero aún es mantenido en prisión, por lo que se ha venido desarrollando una campaña para su excarcelación.

DESAPARICIONES

Amnistía Internacional está preocupada por la presunta "desaparición" del granjero de 28 años, Esteban Ramos Huaynay, que fué visto por última vez en una base del ejército. Según los informes, el 17 de noviembre de 1991, Esteban fué detenido en la aldea de Pampayaco, en el distrito de Uchiza, provincia de Tocache, departamento de San Martín, por soldados de la cercana base de Uchiza. Al parecer, pocos días después de su detención, fué visto en la base por un abogado que actuaba en representación de la esposa del detenido. Sin embargo, cuando la misma y un abogado provincial de Tocache visitaron la base, las autoridades militares no re-

conocieron haber llevado a cabo la detención. A pesar de las negativas, los informes también indican que en marzo de 1992, en fecha sin especificar, miembros de las tropas estacionadas en Uchiza comunicaron a la esposa de Esteban Ramos que había sido trasladado a la base de Morales de Tarapoto, provincia y departamento de San Martín, cuando el abogado visitó la base de Morales el 10 de abril de 1992, el detenido no se encontraba allí.

ACCIONES RECOMENDADAS

Telegramas, télex, cartas por vía aérea:

1) Exigiendo una revisión inmediata del caso de Andrés Villaverde y que se le permita acceso a representantes del Ministerio Público y de sus amigos y familiares hasta que sea ex-carcelado dada la falta de pruebas del delito que se le acusa.

2) Expresando su preocupación por la "desaparición" de Esteban Ramos, instando a que se esclarezca de inmediato su paradero, señalando que según informes se haya en la base de Tarapoto y pidiendo que se le permita el acceso inmediato a representantes del Ministerio Público, que sea llevado de inmediato ante un juez para que pueda ser acusado de algún tipo de delito tipificado en el código penal o liberado y solicitando que mientras permanezca detenido reciba un trato humano y se le permita el acceso a un abogado, médico y familiares.

LLAMAMIENTOS A:

1) Presidente Alberto Fujimori
Palacio de Gobierno Plaza de Armas
Lima 1, Perú

TELEGRAMAS:

Sr. Presidente Alberto Fujimori, Lima, Perú
Télex: 20167 Palacio

2) General Nicolás de Bavi Hermoza Ríos
Presidente del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas, Lima, Perú

TELEGRAMAS:

Presidente del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas, Lima, Perú

COPIAS A:

Organización de Derechos Humanos
CEPAZ - Costa Rica 150, Lima 11, Perú

PARA MÁS INFORMACIÓN:
Campaña Internacional
Pro Ex-carcelación de Andrés Villaverde
P.O. Box 5144, Newark, NJ 07105 - USA

Amor y Rabia es realizado por la Red Amor y Rabia, un grupo de personas comprometidas, las cuales están de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que Amor y Rabia sea una realidad. Las principales decisiones y la política general se determinan cuando la red se reúne en conferencia, una vez al año aproximadamente. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia) las toma el Consejo de la Red, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones que se reúnen varias veces al año. Cualquier grupo verdaderamente interesado en el proyecto puede mandar dos delegados a las reuniones del Consejo de la Red. Las decisiones que requieren acción inmediata (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia y el Consejo de la Red) las toma el Grupo de Coordinación electo, que consulta con el Grupo de Producción (GP) por teléfono y por correo. Diariamente las decisiones son hechas por el GP residente en la ciudad de Nueva York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, simpatizantes de Amor y Rabia se organizan para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y a veces participan en la Red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos/as.

La mayoría de los/as colaboradores/as de Amor y Rabia están activos/as en esfuerzos por cambiar el mundo, además de publicar Amor y Rabia. Los/as simpatizantes están involucrados/as en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan local e internacionalmente y frecuentemente escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos/as, si estás de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política y estas dispuesto/a a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la Red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pide más información a la persona que te vendió u obsequió el periódico, o escribe a:

Amor y Rabia
Box 3, Prince Street Station
New York, NY 10012
(212) 925 7966

Grupo de Coordinación
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Liz, Boston, MA
Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY

Grupo de Producción:
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(* los miembros del Grupo de Producción que no trabajaron en este número.)

Traductores/as:

Alvaro*, Gustavo, Eugenio, Ana, Todd, Cath*
Intentamos tener la publicación lista para la segunda semana de cada mes, rogamos que las colaboraciones sean enviadas a la oficina antes del día siete de cada mes. Regularmente se les envía a los suscriptores/as al término de la edición, aunque no siempre es posible por razones económicas. Si tienes dificultades para recibir el periódico por favor llama o escribe a la oficina.

Aviso Aburrido

¡ATENCIÓN! Artículos, cartas, Notas de Agitación, y otras cosas publicadas en Amor y Rabia no necesariamente representan las opiniones o los puntos de vista del Grupo de Producción, Grupo de Coordinación, del Consejo de la Red, de la Conferencia o de cualquiera de las personas que forman parte de la Red Amor y Rabia. Imprimimos una variedad de artículos por diversas razones, incluyendo artículos con los que no estamos de acuerdo, porque creemos que son interesantes o provocativos. ¿O.K.?

Basta De Abusos

DENTRO DEL DEPARTAMENTO de Corrección, los administradores de las instituciones penales del Estado de Nueva York, juegan un papel conspirador conjuntamente con el departamento médico interno para condicionar la atención de los prisioneros.

Violando los decretos de las Leyes Federales de la Comisión de los Derechos Humanos, "premeditadamente," jugando a su antojo con la salud de los prisioneros y poniendo en peligro sus vidas.

En Auburn Correctional Facility los administradores entrenan a los civilians ("capataces" de las industrias) para que acosen a los prisioneros mediante hostigamiento constante, exigiéndoles mayor producción cada día. Pero, se hacen oídos sordos ante los problemas médicos de sus esclavos.

Green Haven Correctional Facility, es un campo de tortura donde la ineficiencia médica y la falta de profesionalismo es evidente; razón por la cual, el Tribunal Federal designó a un médico auditor, Dr. Robert L. Cohen, para tratar de resolver las quejas de los prisioneros en cuanto a los malos cuidados médicos.

En la Facilidad Correccional de Sing Sing, diariamente los prisioneros viven la agonía de la pésima asistencia médica

sufriendo caóticas consecuencias. Pese a la cortina de humo que los administradores tienden ante las denuncias de los perjudicados, existen sobradas evidencias para llevar estos casos ante los Tribunales amparados en sus propias leyes (las leyes Federales de la Comisión de los Derechos Humanos).

¿Cómo, donde y cuándo? Es la prerrogativa del Licenciado Edward J. Grossman, quién de forma solidaria y eficiente representa a los prisioneros con problemas médicos y no cobra si no gana su caso.

Si usted ó algún familiar suyo ha sufrido daños físicos ó emocionales por causa del pésimo trato médico en alguna prisión del Estado de Nueva York, póngase en contacto con él y podrá asesorarlo al respecto, recibirá su visita gratuitamente.

Lámelo ó escríbele a:

Edward J. Grossman, Attorney
69-12 Roosevelt Avenue
Woodside, N.Y. 11377
Tel. (718) 429-7090, (718) 897-0458

POR JOSÉ JUAN RODRÍGUEZ —
DEFENSOR DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS EN PRISIÓN.

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Mumia Abu-Jamal

(Viene de la portada)

enmienda de la constitución estadounidense y de la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos de 1949 de la O.N.U., que prohíbe la persecución en base a posiciones políticas.

¿POR QUÉ QUIEREN MATAR A MUMIA?

Un vistazo al trabajo periodístico de Mumia Abu-Jamal ayudaría a clarificar las motivaciones del Estado.

En 1967, cuando tenía solamente 13 años, Mumia Abu-Jamal junto con otros tres jóvenes negros tuvo el coraje de ir a la parte sur de Filadelfia, predominantemente blanca, para protestar contra una reunión del candidato para la presidencia George Wallace, quien estaba a favor de la segregación racial. Los jóvenes fueron expulsados de la reunión y atacados por un grupo de adultos blancos. Más tarde, se enteraron que estos eran miembros de la policía. Este fue su primer encuentro con Frank Rizzo que fungía como Comisario de Policía por esos tiempos.

Al siguiente año, Mumia empezó a escribir para el periódico de Los Panteras Negras y ayudó a formar el capítulo de Filadelfia de la agrupación, el cual era continuamente hostigado por la policía. El Partido Panteras Negras (Black Panther Party) fue formado al final de la década de los sesentas para ayudar a crear comunidades autónomas e independientes. Los Panteras en las comunidades negras dan comida a los niños, ropa a familias pobres, abren clínicas gratis, educan a los niños afroamericanos sobre su historia y la verdadera situación en esta sociedad, luchan contra los vendedores de drogas y ayudan a organizar a sus comunidades.

Los artículos de este joven periodista fueron utilizados por el Fiscal del Distrito para justificar su pena de muerte. El Fiscal en este caso es ahora el Alcalde de Filadelfia, demostrándonos una vez más, cómo los políticos utilizan la pena de muerte y al sistema racista de prisiones para realizar sus propias carreras políticas.

Mumia Abu-Jamal tuvo una destacada carrera tanto en la radio como en la prensa. Ambos trabajos le hicieron meritorio del título "La voz de los sin voz" por su habilidad al contar ambos lados de una misma historia (algo que pocos periodistas de corporaciones tienen el coraje de hacer).

Cuando Frank Rizzo, ya Alcalde, ordenó el bloqueo a la casa de los MOVE (un grupo afroamericano radical interesados en llevar una vida natural) Mumia intentó ofrecer ambos lados de la historia. El bloqueo falló en su intento de sacar a los miembros de MOVE vencidos por hambre y sed y la policía tuvo que entrar con 600 miembros bien armados de un equipo de SWAT. Un policía resultó muerto y las evidencias sugirieron

que fue a consecuencias de los disparos de otros oficiales de la uniformada. La ciudad de Filadelfia tuvo que destruir la casa al siguiente día para evitar que pudiese ser usada como evidencia en el juicio. NUEVE personas fueron condenadas en aquel juicio por UNA sola que resultó muerta y que fue responsabilidad de la policía.

La policía racista de Filadelfia frecuentemente hostigaba a los miembros de MOVE y también los atacaba. De uno de los ataques, resultó un aborto y de otro la muerte de un niño cuando su mamá, quien tenía a el niño en sus brazos, fue tirada al suelo y golpeada. Mumia Abu-Jamal narró todo esto para WHUY y a través de programas nacionales como NPR (Radio Pública Nacional) consiguiendo sólo enojar más a la policía.

Más tarde, el caso MOVE fue reportado como noticia internacionalmente, cuando el Alcalde Wilson Goode ordenó bombardear la casa de los MOVE, matando a once personas, cinco de las cuales fueron niños.

Estados Unidos esta dispuesto a ejecutar una vez más a un prisionero político, cosa que al menos mediante el "proceso legal" no hacían desde los Rosenbergs. El COINTELPRO (Programa de Inteligencia Contra Radicales) del FBI (Oficina Federal de Investigaciones) en los años sesentas y setentas usó escudrones de la muerte para asesinar a disidentes prominentes. Mataron a 38 miembros del Partido Panteras Negras. En los años ochentas vimos un cambio con lo de Europa y fue cuando se suicidaron bastantes suicidios sospechosos dentro de la izquierda y luego se pasó a un proceso más abierto en el cual vimos la "criminalización de disidentes políticos." Esto incluía hostigamientos por parte del IRS (Servicio de Ingresos Internos — Impuestos) y de otras agencias gubernamentales.

El siguiente diálogo, fue usado para solicitar la pena de muerte para Mumia.

"From the Death Sentence Hearing, 3 July, 1982 (cortesía de la Partisan Defense Committee — De la condena a muerte, 3 de Julio del 1982).

Pregunta: (a Mumia): ¿ Recuerda usted haber dicho "Todo el poder al pueblo"?

Respuesta: Sí.

P: ¿Cree usted que sus acciones tanto como su filosofía estan de acuerdo con la cita "Todo poder político crece con el cañón de una pistola"?

R: Creo que América (E.U.) ha demostrado que esta cita es válida.

Nosotros, como anarquistas, tenemos la obligación de demostrar la hipocresía del Gobierno y debemos de tomar acción directa para ayudar a cualquier persona que este bajo su ataque.

Cuando la autora Margot Harry le preguntó a Mumia Abu-Jamal cómo se

puede evitar que en el futuro se repitan bobardeos como el perpetrado contra los MOVE y otros grupos, él respondió con una cita de Joe Hill, organizador del IWW (Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo), "No estes triste, jorganiza! Únete para resistir la usurpación que hace este sistema de tus sagrados derechos a la libertad, al aire puro, a la tierra no-contaminada, al agua fresca. El pueblo, todos los pueblos de este planeta, tienen que ser libres y libres de las armas nucleares apuntando a sus cabezas. Demandemos a este sistema de injusticias la liberación de los prisioneros de MOVE

y la de todos los presos políticos en las cárceles de América.

Escriba cartas de protesta a:

Gobernador Robert Casey
Main Capitol Bldg, Rm. 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120 — USA

Envíe donaciones para la defensa de Mumia a:

Red Nuevo Africana en Defensa de los PP. y de Guerra.
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, D.C. 20090 — USA

¿ QUE ES LA ORGANIZACION MOVE ?

MOVE ES UNA ORGANIZACIÓN que surgió en Filadelfia en los años setentas. Se caracterizan por su cabello al estilo de los rastafaris y por adoptar el nombre Africa, bajo un principio de unidad y de acuerdo a las enseñanzas de John Africa que promueven (entre otras cosas) el vegetarianismo (comida cruda), la vida sin tecnología, sin química, educación en la casa (necesario por que existe en los Estados Unidos un sistema de Apartheid cultural) y un movimiento revolucionario para separarse de la corrupción del Sistema estadounidense con una concepción sagrada de cada cosa viviente, incluyendo las plantas y los animales.

"El trabajo de los MOVE es para detener el envenenamiento del aire, del agua y del suelo por las industrias, poner punto final a la esclavitud en la vida de las personas, de los animales y de cualquier forma de vida. El propósito de la revolución de John Africa, la tarea de los MOVE, es enseñarle a la gente, cuan corrupto, criminal y esclavizante es este Sistema, confrontarlo en todos los frentes para enseñarle a la gente que contra este sistema se puede luchar y ganar y la urgente necesidad de esta lucha." (MOVE)

Los primeros trabajos de los MOVE incluyen ayuda a los sin-techo para encontrar alojamiento, reparaciones hogareñas, asistencia a personas con deficiencias, interviniendo en la eliminación de la violencia entre gangas (bandas o pandillas) y manejando programas de rehabilitación.

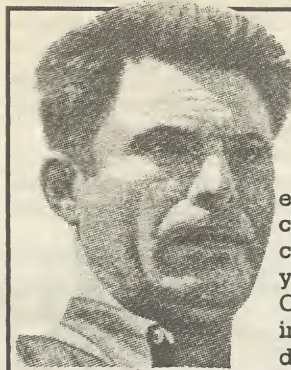
Sus apariciones públicas incluyen manifestaciones de protesta frente a zoológicos, tiendas de mascotas, demostraciones políticas y foros públicos,

utilizando la protesta pacífica para exponer "las profanas injusticias del Sistema."

No fue hasta que se lanzaron en una demostración contra la brutalidad policial que comenzó la etapa más conocida de la organización. Desde entonces, los MOVE se convirtieron en blanco de la extrema violencia policiaca culminando el 13 de mayo de 1985 con el bombardeo a la casa central de la organización, matando a seis adultos y a cinco niños, durante un asalto efectuado por la policía a escala militar. Dispararon 10 000 municiones a la casa y al ver que esto no provocó que los MOVE abandonaran la casa, un helicoptero de la policía por ordenes del alcalde, lanzó una bomba sobre el techo del edificio, dejando deliberadamente que el fuego se extendiera, quemando hasta consumirse en cenizas sesenta casas del vecindario. Entre las llamas, repetidamente los MOVE trataron de salir hacia un callejón, pero la policía disparaba sobre ellos asesinandolos. Solo un adulto, Ramona Africa y un niño, Birdy Africa, sobrevivieron al criminal ataque y fueron puestos bajo custodia.

Ramona, cumplió una sentencia de siete años en prisión, por conspiración, agitación y varios cargos de asalto. Fue ex-carcelada esta primavera y junto a otros miembros de MOVE, actualmente enfoca sus esfuerzos en la liberación de doce miembros de la organización que permanecen en prisión.

Para más información escriba a:
Concerned Citizens in Support of MOVE
P.O.Box 197009
Philadelphia, PA 19143 — USA



PARA APLASTAR AL FASCISMO ALREDEDOR DEL MUNDO NECESITAMOS TU AYUDA

La Brigada Internacional Anarquista Buenaventura Durruti es un proyecto autónomo de solidaridad con nuestros compañeros anarquistas en Latinoamérica. Se ha formado con la participación de compañeros de los Estados Unidos y México y pretende desarrollarse como proyecto piloto en Chile y México. La Brigada exorta a la comunidad anarquista internacional a que colaboren en este esfuerzo enviando donaciones materiales y monetarias. Para más información:

Brigada Durruti — P.O.Box 3 Prince St. Sta, New York, N.Y. 10012 — USA

ANARQUISTAS EN LA CONVENCION

POR MATT BLACK

COMO PROMETIMOS, HUBO oposición anarquista en la Convención Nacional Demócrata en Nueva York, durante la semana de Julio 11 al 16. Los eventos anarquistas comenzaron el domingo 12 de julio, con el Concierto "Rompeamos la Convención," con discursos y con la asistencia de unas 300 personas en el Parque Central. Durante toda la semana los activistas anarquistas y los sin-techo acamparon en el área conocida como Sheep's Meadow en el parque.

Esta fue una verdadera victoria para la gente de la Acción Inconvencional, un grupo anarquista de la ciudad de Nueva York. La primera respuesta de la Ciudad fue un simple "NO," ante los preparativos anti-convención. Pero finalmente, tuvieron que permitirle a Unconventional Action un espacio sin policía en una sección bien concurrida del parque, desde el amanecer hasta la 1 de la mañana de cada día, el uso de un edificio del Departamento de Parques con armarios, duchas y una piscina desde las 11 de la noche hasta las 2 de la tarde del siguiente día. Unconventional Acción aceptó, pero los activistas acamparon en

el parque de todas maneras. Desafortunadamente, los informes dijeron que el campamento fue bastante pequeño (de 20 a 35 personas), pero sea como sea fue una victoria.

El Lunes, 13 de Julio, se realizó "Retomemos Nuestras Vidas," una marcha de mujeres y hombres en protesta por la violencia contra las mujeres. El Martes, 14 de Julio hubo dos eventos grandes: el "United For AIDS Action" (Unidos Por Acción Contra el SIDA) y el "Mock Convention" (Convención Falsa) por parte de "Women's Action Coalition" (WAC, Coalición de Mujeres por la Acción). La acción de WAC estuvo enfocada en demandar acción en la legislación anti-violencia y pro-derecho a escoger. La demostración sobre el SIDA fue la más grande de la semana, contando con una multitudinaria participación.

El Miércoles, 15 de Julio, Unconventional Action llevó a cabo la "Fiesta de Humo" en protesta por las leyes represivas anti-marihuana, y para contradecir los mitos conservadores sobre la marihuana.

Finalmente, el Jueves, 16 de julio, hubo dos acciones: una protesta patro-

cinaba por el Comité En Solidaridad con la Gente de El Salvador contra la ayuda militar al gobierno del país centroamericano y la marcha que fue convocada para protestar por el creciente aumento de la presencia policiaca y del Estado en todas partes de nuestra vidas; irónicamente, la marcha estuvo rodeada por una exagerada vigilancia policiaca durante su desarrollo.

A pesar de la diversidad de protestas, las acciones alrededor de la convención fueron desilucionantes. La mayor parte de las protestas no fueron verdaderas demostraciones contra los Demócratas, sino demandando que les prestaran atención, demandas por promesas en la campaña que ellos seguramente romperán después. ¿Cuántas veces tienen que mentir los políticos para que no les creamos?

La Marcha Contra el Estado Policiaco fue sin duda alguna la manifestación más militante y una de las pocas que demandó cambios fundamentales. Desafortunadamente, la marcha (que contó con alrededor de 200 activistas) fue rápidamente disuelta por la policía y a pesar de eso tomó las calles frente a la Conven-

ción. Es un hecho que la policía vio inmediatamente a la demostración como una amenaza, pero también es cierto que los participantes no estuvieron preparados para defenderse efectivamente. Si queremos tener éxito, demostraciones seguras y efectivas, necesitamos aprender cómo trabajar juntos para hacer abortar los esfuerzos policiacos de disolver las manifestaciones. Ahora, que los Demócratas ya tuvieron su circo, se nos presenta la Convención Nacional Republicana en Texas. Tenemos bastantes planes para romper su diversión (esperamos también una fuerte corriente que arrazara con el Centro de Convenciones George R. Brown). Además de los Republicanos, el Klan ha prometido marchar por las calles y Operación Rescate (movimiento anti-aborto) intentará cerrar todas las clínicas de Houston. Los/as compañeros/as en Austin necesitan nuestra ayuda. Para más información, póngase en contacto con estos/as compañeros/as en Austin, y ellos/as se alegrarán de informarle más:

Línea Telefónica Caliente del Colectivo
Atlatl (512) 445 8351
P.O. Box 81 — 504 West 24th St.
Austin, TX 78705

Washington Heights:

¡Mantengamos El Espíritu De Lucha En Nuestras Comunidades!



POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

LA REBELIÓN DE LOS RESIDENTES del barrio Washington Heights del Alto Manhattan en la ciudad de Nueva York, no esta desvinculada de la realidad cotidiana norteamericana, donde millones de minorías oprimidas encaran las mayores vejaciones y malos tratos, bajo un despiadado sistema de explotación y represión.

Los dominicanos y demás latinoamericanos y afroamericanos vecinos de Washington Heights se revelaron al igual que los oprimidos del Sur Centro de Los Angeles (y en ocasiones anteriores los afroamericanos de Miami y los latinoamericanos de Washington D.C.) contra el racismo intrínseco de esta podrida sociedad y contra la brutal represión policial que la sostiene. El levantamiento se originó con el asesinato a tiros del joven dominicano José "Kiko" García el viernes 3 de julio a manos del agente represivo Michel O'keefe del precinto de policía #34. El incidente, según testigos, se produjo cuando la bestia uniformada conocida en el vecindario por el sobrenombre de Chuck Norris (dada la brutalidad y violencia con que actúa en el barrio) miembro de una ganga paramilitar de policías bautizada como "Local Motion" comenzara a pegarle con su radio primero y después con su macana a José a todo lo largo de la calle 162,

hasta conducirlo a rastras al lobby del edificio del 505 Oeste de la calle 162 entre San Nicolás y Broadway, donde le asesinara de un balazo a quemarropa por la espalda y otro en el abdomen.

Según vecinos del edificio que escucharon y presenciaron el incidente, José García, rogaba por su vida mientras que el agente le pegaba antes de cegarle la vida a sangre fría. Otros testigos, dicen haber presenciado aproximadamente veinte minutos antes del asesinato del joven dominicano de 23 años, al oficial O'keefe golpear a otro joven del área y robarle dos kilos de cocaína que desde luego no reportara al precinto. La ganga paramilitar de policía, a la que pertenece el asesino, nos informan los residentes de Washington Heights, se dedicaba a extorcionar a vecinos indocumentados, a vendedores ambulantes, a taxistas y a robarle droga y dinero a los pequeños narcotraficantes del área.

La muerte de Kiko, quien trabajara como cajero de un pequeño mercado de víveres y cumpliría 24 un día después de su asesinato, provocó la ira y la indignación de los residentes del Alto Manhattan que se lanzaron a tomar las calles en protesta el lunes 6 de julio tres días después de su muerte. Los manifestantes gritando "no habrá paz sin justicia" y "policías asesinos" se enfrentaron a la uniformada provocando varios heridos, abriéndole la cabeza de un botellazo a uno de ellos y dejando un saldo de dos edificios en llamas, cinco automóviles incendiados y varios autos patrulleros y furgonetas de la policía con los cristales rotos.

Desde las azoteas de los edificios se produjo una interminable lluvia de botellas contra las tropas de ocupación policiaca. Miles de policías fueron enviados a la zona rebelde que alcanzaba un área de mas de 30 cuadras a la redonda, de inmediato arremetieron violentamente contra los manifestantes. Helicópteros sobrevolaban el vecindario iluminando las azoteas con grandes reflectores y se produjeron decenas de arrestos.

Las bestias uniformadas irrumpieron en los edificios, forzando puertas de apartamentos allanando sin orden judicial los

hogares de los residentes del barrio, en plena violación de morada. A consecuencia de esta brutalidad, los asesinos del cuartel 34 se anotaron una segunda víctima: Dagoberto Pichardo, de 29 años de edad, también de origen dominicano, quien cursaba estudios en República Dominicana pero decidió venir a E.U para poder mantener a su esposa y dos hijos que permanecen en la isla.

La sospechosa muerte de Dagoberto envuelve al teniente Parrino y al policía James Gilmore, quienes según el testigo Daniel Pascual lo "lanzaron" desde el techo del edificio de seis pisos localizado en la avenida Audubon donde vivía la víctima junto a su familia. El agente Gilmore es conocido en el barrio como "Rambo" y es uno de los policías acusados de corrupción.

La versión inicial de la policía fué que Pichardo "saltó" del techo del edificio al vacío. Una segunda versión emitida 24 horas más tarde por el vicecomisionado de la uniformada Raymond Kelly dijo que Dagoberto Pichardo "cayó del techo." El forense aún no ha determinado (o al menos no lo ha hecho público) si la muerte fué asesinato, suicidio o accidente.

La hermana de Dagoberto Awilda Valdez, el super interendente del edificio y Daniel Pascual, aseguran que fué asesinado al ser lanzado desde el techo por los agentes represivos.

LA REBELION SE AGUDIZA

La muerte de Dagoberto Pichardo, vino a hechar leña al fuego. La comunidad del Alto Manhattan reaccionó enardecida ante la nueva provocación policial manteniendo el control de las calles y repudiando a las tropas de ocupación.

Una nutrida manifestación se llevó a cabo el 7 de julio a las doce del día contando con la participación de más de 2000 vecinos del área quienes marcharon hacia el cuartel 34 de la policía de Nueva York exigiendo el derecho a la vida y el derecho a marchar libremente por su barrio.

En la noche el concejal de origen dominicano Guillermo Linares junto a otros políticos y líderes religiosos trataron de apaciguar la rebelión convocando a una vigilia.

Alrededor de 200 jóvenes abandonaron la vigilia y marcharon en una demostración que fué creciendo en el camino hacia el puente George Wa-

shington cerrando la estación del mismo, después atacaron los edificios del City Bank y del banco BPD Internacional.

LOS ORIGENES

El asesinato de José García y de Dagoberto Pichardo no son hechos aislados, son parte del diario vivir de los latinoamericanos, los nativoamericanos, los afroamericanos y demás explotados y oprimidos de Amerikkka. A lo largo y ancho de E.U. mueren miles de nuestros jóvenes víctimas de la represión y la brutalidad policial bajo este sistema racista.

Solamente en la ciudad de Nueva York han sido asesinados por la uniformada 15 personas en el año 1979; 10 en 1980; 37 en 1981; 18 en 1982; 29 en 1983; 15 en 1988; 45 en 1989; 14 en 1990. La mayoría de ellos afroamericanas y latinoamericanas. La lista de jóvenes latinos muertos a manos de la policía en la "Gran Manzana" es larga: Federico Pereira, Juan Rodríguez, David Coto, Daniel Félix Zapata, Andrew Gonzáles, José Luis Lebrón y ahora, los dominicanos José García y Dagoberto Pichardo.

La situación de la población de Washington Heights, no es nada nuevo, casi un millón de dominicanos viven en la ciudad de Nueva York que han emigrado de la isla por razones políticas o en busca de mejores condiciones de vida. De acuerdo al último censo realizado por la Northern Manhattan (corporación que estudia el desarrollo de la comunidad de Washington Height) más de 350 000 personas residen en el área de los cuales el 65% son parte de un millón de dominicanos que radican en la ciudad. Específicamente, en el área de 30 cuadras a la redonda donde se suscitaron los motines, prácticamente toda la población es dominicana.

El Dr. Rafael Lantigua, médico del vecindario explicó a un diario new yorquino editado en español que "no hay suficientes hospitales para atender las necesidades básicas de la población," agregó "nuestros principales problemas son la salud mental, debido a que necesitamos adaptarnos al nuevo sistema de vida y las enfermedades infecciosas como la tuberculosis que se originan por el hacinamiento."

Según el informe de la "Northern Manhattan" sobre su estudio realizado en

(continúa pág. 5)

DECLARACION POLITICA DE AMOR Y RABIA

Amor y Rabia es una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica y construir un movimiento anarquista mejor organizado. Proveeremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia. Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la jerarquía y a la dominación, haciendo posible un armazón para la unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-enlatada. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente teórico-práctico, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propia liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

Amor y Rabia es Revolucionario

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento auto-gestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre, y de la miseria generada por el actual sistema. Apoyamos el uso de tácticas diversas contra el actual sistema y para el desarrollo de una revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-estatista

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados (gobiernos) sin distinción de ideologías. El objeto del Estado es mantener y regular todas las formas de dominación. El Estado tiene el monopolio de la violencia legal y organizada: la policía, el ejército y el sistema de prisiones, imponiendo la organización de la sociedad. Nos oponemos al sistema de inmigración y al intento de control del libre movimiento de los

pueblos a través de las fronteras. Creemos que la gente puede organizar sus vidas y sus comunidades. Esta auto-organización puede hacer que el pueblo tome el control de las funciones que ahora dependen del Estado.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-capitalista

Apoyamos todas las formas de resistencia a la dominación capitalista - resistencia traducida en huelgas, luchas obreras, la ocupación de edificaciones (squatting), huelgas contra los alquileres y luchas por el control comunitario de los recursos. Deseamos la transformación total de la producción y el consumo en una economía cooperativa y a favor de la vida, que además sea descentralizada, equitativa, fluida, experimental y controlada por los que participan en ella.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-racista

Apoyamos la autodeterminación de todas las comunidades de color. Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y trabajamos por una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Conocemos la opresión específica que existe hacia el afroamericano, desde épocas de la esclavitud hasta el presente. Luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos. Sabemos que las bases de la sociedad racista de hoy son el genocidio y la asimilación forzada del pueblo indígena. Apoyamos la conservación de las tradiciones culturales y los derechos a la tierra de los nativoamericanos. Luchamos por erradicar el imperialismo cultural. Nos oponemos al racismo anti-semita. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de Québec y el fin de la opresión contra el francófono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo de los "skinheads", el "klan", los nazis y el terror policial. Reconocemos el racismo implícito en la dominación y la explotación económica, política y militar del llamado "tercer mundo." Luchamos por crear una sociedad donde la gente pueda sentirse segura, respetada y no amenazada por el racismo.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-imperialista

La sociedad por la que luchamos celebrará la belleza de la diversidad humana, honrará la tierra y reconocerá las contribuciones sociales y culturales de la comunidad humana hecha por la mayoría de los habitantes del planeta: el pueblo de color. Para crear esta sociedad, la humanidad tiene que derrocar la que ha sido impuesta sobre el planeta por una minoría mediante la fuerza, una sociedad que ha esclavizado a la mayoría de los pobladores del planeta para el enriquecimiento de pocos. Esto incluye, no solo la dominación del capital occidental, sino toda forma de imperialismo estatal. Apoyamos la lucha de todos los pueblos oprimidos y explotados, por la autodeterminación y liberación de la dominación extranjera o doméstica. Además, también apoyamos críticamente la lucha de todas las naciones menos poderosas contra el control y el abuso imperialista.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-sexista

Rechazamos el patriarcado y luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación de todas las mujeres. Esto incluye la incuestionable libertad de elección reproductiva y una más accesible atención médica y de cuidado para todas sin exclusión. Reconocemos que la violencia sexual y el abuso son necesarios para la continuación del funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado no resolverá nuestros problemas.

Reconocemos la responsabilidad de los hombres para lograr un cambio en sí mismos y terminar por siempre el patriarcado. Reconocemos la fuerza de la mujer y nos regocijamos por ello.

Amor y Rabia Apoya la Libre Determinación Sexual

Rechazamos la autoritaria heterosexualidad de la familia patriarcal y la tradicional adopción de roles sexuales y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una pluralidad de relaciones humano-sexuales en su justa proporción. Esto incluye la liberación de homosexuales, bisexuales, lesbianas y travestis.

Amor y Rabia No Discrimina las Edades

Las manifestaciones del generacionalismo toman lugar, desde la opresión a la juventud hasta las problemáticas de las personas ancianas, de todo aquel que es marginado y alienado por su edad en esta sociedad. Nuestra idea de liberación esta en constante desarrollo y no puede resumirse en un solo párrafo. Por lo tanto, esta debe ser discutida en todos sus aspectos en nuestro periódico, así como a través de nuestras vidas. Estos temas no deberan construir las reglas de un juego a seguir, sino que deberan debatirse en artículos relevantes en las páginas de la Federación de Jóvenes Anarquistas (Anarchist Youth Federation - AYF) y en cualquier otro lugar donde sea necesario.

Amor y Rabia es Eco-anarquista

Todas las formas de vida están interconectadas. Rechazamos el mito aquel que afirma que existimos fuera del mundo natural, por el contrario creemos que la vida humana forma parte integral del mismo. Al mismo tiempo, sabemos que toda forma de dominación social solo traerá la destrucción del planeta y por ello, debemos acabar con la misma. El capitalismo no salvará el planeta por el solo hecho de hacernos cambiar nuestro estilo de vida o seguir una política de "enverdecimiento capitalista." En realidad, tenemos que entender la complejidad del estado capitalista con todas las formas de dominación, tales como el patriarcado y el racismo, responsables de la actual crisis ecológica. La sociedad anarquista tiene que ser ecologista y a su vez, la sociedad ecologista tiene que ser anarquista.

Esta declaración no pretende incluir todos los planteamientos que conciernen al anarquismo o anti-autoritarismo, como tampoco pretende Amor y Rabia darlo todo por entendido ni unificar todos los puntos de vista. No podemos representar el amplio espectro del heterogéneo movimiento anarquista contemporáneo, ni nos avergonzamos de algún punto de vista controversial. Finalmente, buscamos la incorporación de nuestros lectores y otros activistas en nuestro esfuerzo por el avance de nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en el que militamos.

500 Años de Resistencia Queer

(Primera Parte de una Serie de Dos)

POR LIN L. ELLIOT

MIL NOVECIENTOS NOVENTA y dos, además de ser el año de las elecciones presidenciales con el circo que le acompaña, también es el año del quinto centenario del "descubrimiento" de las Américas por Cristóbal Colón. El gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha formado un Comité para promocionar y coordinar las celebraciones por todo el territorio. Ya hay exhibiciones en gira por museos de todo el país montadas con todos los hierros, con barcos réplicas para montarse los niños y "jugar al conquistador." España, por su parte, ha creado réplicas auténticas de la Niña, la Pinta y la Santa María para recrear el viaje de Colón.

Pero los celebradores no son los únicos organizándose. Cuando llegó Colón al "Nuevo Mundo" (muy confundido sobre donde estaba en realidad), él encontró un hemisferio que no era ni desconocido, ni estaba deshabitado. Los descendientes de esos pueblos indígenas (los que sobrevivieron, muchas tribus y culturas no sobrevivieron) tienen una perspectiva muy diferente de ese "primer encuentro"; para ellos no fue descubrimiento sino invasión. Colón escribió a sus patrones reales: "no existe en el mundo una nación mejor. Ellos aman a sus vecinos como a sí mismos...y aunque es verdad que están desnudos, sus maneras son decorosas." Pero entonces el continuó sugiriendo que los pueblos indígenas podrían ser "forzados a trabajar, sembrar y hacer todo lo necesario para adoptar nuestras costumbres." Colón empezó a mandar a los miembros de la tribu Taina a España, convirtiéndolos al cristianismo y en general introduciéndoles a los "beneficios" de la civilización. Los Españoles saquearon y quemaron sus aldeas, secuestraron cientos de hombres, mujeres y niños y los mandaron a Europa para ser vendidos como esclavos...Tribus enteras fueron destruidas, cientos de miles de personas fueron asesinadas en menos de una década después de que Colón pisara la playa de San Salvador, el 12 de Octubre, 1492.

Este es el evento que nos preparamos para celebrar. Esto, en realidad, solo ha sido el comienzo.

El Movimiento Indígena Americano, el Movimiento Chicano, el Comité Por La Historia Indígena Americana y muchos otros grupos, han empezado a organizar protestas contra el quinto centenario, tratando de llevar estos temas a foros públicos y desenmascarar la "gran mentira" de la historia encubierta oficialmente. Por lo menos una publicación

nacional, *Indigenous Thought*, se ha formado para coordinar los esfuerzos de los/as activistas. Se espera que muchos grupos progresistas den su apoyo y sin duda, muchos queers van a estar entre sus filas principales. Como de costumbre.

Pero todos los homosexuales y lesbianas — no solo los que al igual que yo descienden de Nativos Americanos — tienen un interés especial en este aniversario; extendiendo la miope perspectiva común de que la conquista europea del "nuevo mundo" es sólo un "tema Indio": también es un tema queer.

Estos no son eventos históricos oscuros presentados para que otros se sientan culpables del pasado. A pesar de los esfuerzos persistentes de nuestros enemigos, ni los Indígenas ni los Queers han desaparecido, y la guerra en contra nuestra no ha terminado tampoco.

Algunas cosas muy importantes deben ser mencionadas sobre las conexiones históricas entre el racismo, el sexismo y la homofobia. Y 1992 va a ser un momento excelente para decirlas. Como Queers, debemos tomar en cuenta y entender el papel que el sexismo y la homofobia han jugado en la guerra contra las culturas indígenas. Esto es parte de nuestra historia — y la del mundo — que tiene que ser afrontada, para que podamos dejar de lamentarnos y para que los intolerantes, con su pretensión de que tales cosas nunca han pasado, no puedan continuar escondiéndolas en el presente. Pero, a partir de esto, hay lecciones vitales que aprender, tanto como individuos, como comunidad en evolución hoy en día.

En 1492, Fernando e Isabel triunfaron al expulsar a los últimos "bárbaros" Moros (Musulmanes del Norte de África que controlaron por siglos grandes porciones de lo que ahora se llama España) de España. Por casi toda Europa, y especialmente en Italia y España, la Inquisición estaba trabajando duro "purificando el cuerpo de Cristo" con la destrucción y el asesinato de gran cantidad de enemigos reales e imaginarios de la Iglesia, un número desproporcionado fueron mujeres y queers (acusados de "brujas" o "herejes").

Cuando los Europeos llegaron al "nuevo mundo" trajeron no solo su racismo e intolerancia religiosa, sino también su sexismo y su homofobia. El genocidio fue solo un pequeño paso hacia una cultura que ya estaba cometiendo "homo-cidio" y "ginecidio."

Las lesbianas y los homosexuales en la Sociedad Nativo Americana fueron blancos de la opresión europea desde

temprano. Aún existe un grabado que muestra a soldados españoles atacando un *berdache* (transvesti nativo) con perros durante la conquista de América Central, y otro conquistador se jactó de haber destruido arte homocérotico en Colombia. Los misioneros, tanto católicos como protestantes, se horrorizaron de encontrar a personas Queer ocupando posiciones de honor y respeto entre las tribus Nativo Americanas. Alvar Núñez Cabeza De Vaca, un "explorador" quien dijo haber estado cautivo de los nativos de la Florida entre 1528 y 1533, reportó: "Yo vi algo demoníaco y es que yo vi a un hombre casado con otro y estos hombres impotentes y afeminados..." Un misionero franciscano, Francisco De Pareja, sirvió como misionero para los Indios Timucuan, en el área entre lo que hoy es Georgia y Florida, desde 1595 a 1616; redactó un confesionario para que los curas le preguntaran a sus penitentes que incluía cuestiones explícitas sobre conducta homosexual tanto entre mujeres como entre hombres.

El cura Zenobius Membre narra en sus observaciones en Illinois entre 1680-81, que los "Indios son salvajes y aún antinaturales, teniendo muchachos vestidos como mujeres, destinados para propósitos infames." Referente a las "relaciones amistosas especiales entre hombres jóvenes," Joseph Francois Lafitau escribió en 1717 que "los misioneros suprimieron estas relaciones por miedo a lo que podría resultar de estas." El también relata sobre los travestis encontrados en algunas tribus: "Aunque el espíritu religioso que los hace adoptar este estado los hace ser considerados como seres humanos excepcionales, ellos sin embargo, han caído en la misma degradación en la que se encontraban antiguamente los sacerdotes de Venus, Uranio y Cibeles." El no estaba seguro si esto era causado por sus "pasiones vergonzosas" o "por la ignorancia de los europeos..."

Es interesante darse cuenta de cuantas veces los sentimientos homofóbicos están ligados a los sentimientos sexistas. Los travesti y los *berdache* son calificados repetidamente como "personas que se degradan" por asumir la vestimenta, el trabajo y la situación de las mujeres y es visto hasta como castigo por su conducta homosexual. Tales interpretaciones son probablemente proyecciones de la ideología europea como reflexiones legítimas de creencias tribales.

Edwin T. Denig, relatando sobre una "jefa de tribu" de los Crow, ofrece esta apreciación: "Siempre ha sido la costumbre de este pueblo errante, considerar a las mujeres inferiores en todos los aspectos. No tienen voz en los consejos y nada que decir en las asambleas fundadas por los hombres. Aunque es imposible generalizar sobre "todos los Nativos Americanos" sabemos que en muchas tribus las mujeres tenían gran influencia y poder, que fue más que nada la insistencia de los europeos las que hicieron que excluyeran a las mujeres Nativas de los consejos de los tratados y que muchos de los líderes Nativos expresaron sorpresa por que las mujeres blancas fueran excluidas del proceso de tomar decisiones. ¿Sin la participación de las mujeres como podía cualquier grupo de gente estar en balance o armonía con el mundo?

Las figuras homosexuales y lesbianas fueron blancos de los europeos porque eran visibles y eran visibles porque, en muchos casos, ellos eran los líderes. El *berdache*, el *winkte* y el *koskalaka* estaban en posiciones de poder — no el poder en terminos patriarcales, sino como poder experimentado en el contexto tribal. El poder, no como control sobre las acciones de otros, sino como una función de relaciones: para sí mismo, para la comunidad, para los Espíritus, con la Divino y con el mundo natural.

Esto es lo que necesitamos entender. El poder queer, como el poder de las mujeres y el poder tribal, nunca podrá ser reconciliado con las concepciones patriarcales del Poder. Este nunca podrá ser efectivamente expresado dentro de las instituciones políticas y económicas que existen, lo cual es la razón por la que las acciones legales y el cabildeo político para proteger nuestros derechos, aunque son ciertamente necesarios, nunca podrán llegar verdaderamente, a las metas de la liberación. En esta única coyuntura de la historia, podemos y debemos crear nuestras propias vías e instituciones para la exploración de los misterios queer y la expresión de la energía queer. ★

CONTINUARA...

***QUEER: Personas con preferencias sexuales diferentes a las establecidas en el patriarcado y su forzada heterosexualidad. En la mayoría de los casos con puntos de vista más radicales o politizados so-**

Rebelión Popular

(Viene de la pág. 4)

1989, los niveles de pobreza en W.H. son alarmantes. En 1980, cerca de 100 mil personas fueron consideradas "pobres", con un salario 200% inferior a los niveles de pobreza. Los niños de la zona constituyen el 36.7 % de todos los menores de la ciudad esperando subsidio para ingresar a una guardería. El 40 % de los ancianos viven solos y por lo tanto necesitan o van a necesitar una institución. 4 de cada 5 ancianos son mujeres. Es el distrito que posee la mayor cantidad de emigrantes, 80 % arribó en 1965 o poco después. Es el distrito más pobre en cuanto a las condiciones de vivienda, con el mayor índice de gente pobre rentando apartamentos privados. De todos los distritos de la ciudad, es el que tiene menos edificios o proyectos del gobierno, solo 8,093 unidades.

El desempleo, las drogas, los empleos en condiciones insanas y con salarios por abajo del mínimo también se suman a la cadena de opresión de que son víctimas los residentes del área. Además del maltrato y la cotidiana brutalidad policial, la constante persecución del Servicio de Emigración y Naturalización ha llenado la copa de los vecinos de la zona y se han ido incrementando los sentimientos anti-autoritarios de la comunidad.

LOS MANIPULADORRES Y LA CARA BUENA DE LA OPRESION.

Todos los políterqueros comunales, secretarios generales y presidentes de cuanto partido político se ha inventado han desfilado por la zona, líderes religiosos desde pentecostales, adventistas, mormones y testigos de Jehova también han acudido en "auxilio" de la comunidad. El alcalde Dinkins, el comisionado Linares y el propio cardenal anti condones (O'Connor) realizaron una llamada "a la paz", al cese de la "violencia" y al restablecimiento del "orden."

La Iglesia Católica en la presencia del cardenal anti condones, por su parte expresó que habría "justicia": "Pongo en el tapete la credibilidad de la Iglesia Católica en esto" aseguró el personaje.

Una vez más, los manipuladores, la cara "buena" de la opresión amanzan al rebaño descarriado. Se convocó a una misa "popular" y se ha dejado en manos de DIOS y de la JUSTICIA yanqui el esclarecimiento de los hechos.

Hoy a la entrada del edificio donde asesinaron a José García, en el lugar donde los amigos y compañeros del barrio erigieron un mural de graffiti en su "memoria" hay un puesto callejero que vende "chimichurris y fritangas".

La policía continúa impune como tropa de ocupación en la zona, abusando y maltratando a los vecinos aunque se ha reducido su presencia. Los ancianos dan gracias por que la

revuelta pasó. El joven García fue trasladado a la República Dominicana donde se le dió sepultura, Dagoberto Pichardo fué velado y enterrado aquí en Nueva York; pero, en el aire se respira un espíritu de lucha que no enterarán nunca los opresores, ni con balas ni con promesas. ★

RESUMEN DE LA SECCIÓN DE INGLÉS

Portada.- **Mumia Abu-Jamal.** El prisionero político Abu-Jamal enfrenta la pena de muerte.

Páginas 2 y 3.- **Cartas**

Pág 4.- **Mumia Abul-Jamal enfrenta la pena de muerte** por Rick van Savage (ver portada y página 3 en español). Y, ¿Qué es la organización MOVE? (Ver pág. 3)

Pág 5.- **¿Quién le teme a la responsabilidad personal?** por Tommy Lawless. Un artículo que comenta sobre la importancia de la responsabilidad personal de los activistas anarquistas.

Páginas 6 y 7 **Notas de Revuelta.**

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Pág. 9.- **"Rimas con la Reina"** por Annie Thing. Comentario sobre varios zines queer. En la misma página **"Anarquistas en la Convención"** por Matt Black. (ver pág 3 en español.)

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Pág. 11.- **Federación de Jóvenes Anarquistas.** La acostumbrada página de AYF con notas de la reciente conferencia de la Federación en Dayton, Ohio, escritas por Jon George.

Pág. 12.- **Redefinición de la Red Army Faction** por el colectivo Arm de Spirit, un artículo que discute la historia del comunicado en el que Red Army Faction decide detener la lucha armada temporalmente.

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